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red McClung Lee — THEY FAILED AS KILLERS

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James E. Bristol — NATIONALISM AND NONVIOLENCE IN INDIA

Ritchie Calder — THE NUCLEAR GRAVEYARD

urri: Two Views of Pacifist Youth in Europe Today

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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COVER PHOTO: Students at Dartmouth College demonstrate against ROTC, May 13, 1959. Photo by **The Valley News,** Lebanon, N. H.

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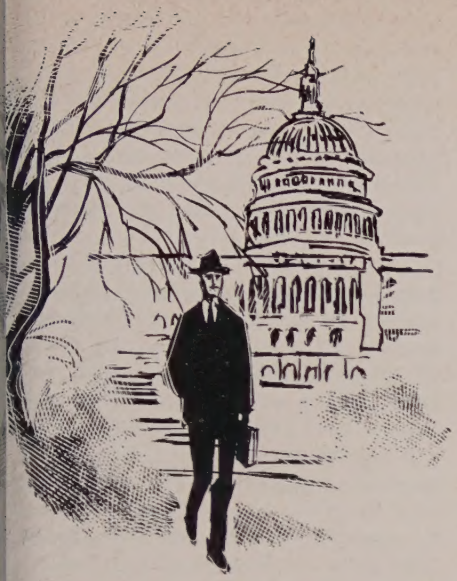


FOREIGN POLICY and CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

I SHOULD like to say at the outset that questions of method in foreign policy n to me to be generally a much more ng subject for Christian concern than istions of purpose. It is very difficult for to know which of the specific under-ngs of government in foreign affairs ht have Christian significance and ch might not. If there is any one ag that is plain about international esmanship, it is the extreme difficulty establishing in advance the relationship ween cause and effect—of gauging the ly results of one's own acts.

The English historian Herbert Butter-d has shown us with great brilliance, so has our own Reinhold Niebuhr, the ay that seems to rest on the relationship ween the intentions of statesmen and results they achieve. I can testify from sonal experience that not only can one er know, when one takes a far-reaching ision in foreign policy, precisely what consequences are going to be, but al-t never do these consequences fully co-de with what one intended or expected. s does not absolve the statesman of his onsibility for trying to find the meas-s most suitable to his purpose, but it s mean that he is best off when he is led by firm and sound principle instead of depending exclusively on his own far-sightedness and powers of calculation. And if he himself finds it hard to judge the consequences of his acts, how can the individual Christian onlooker judge them?

All this is quite different when we come to method. Here, in a sense, one can hardly go wrong. The government cannot fully know what it is doing, but it can always know how it is doing it; and it can be as sure that good methods will be in some way useful as that bad ones will be in some way pernicious. A government can pursue its purpose in a patient and conciliatory and understanding way, respecting the interests of others and infusing its behavior with a high standard of decency and honesty and humanity, or it can show itself petty, exacting, devious, and self-righteous. If it behaves badly, even the most worthy of purposes will be apt to be polluted; whereas sheer good manners will bring some measure of redemption to even the most disastrous undertaking. The Christian citizen will be on sound ground,

IN CONTEXT, the column of editorial comments that usually appears on this page, has been omitted from this issue due to the fact that our editor is in Europe. The column will be resumed in the next issue. **CONTRIBUTORS,** which usually follows IN CONTEXT, will be found on page 24.

pyright 1958 by The Atlantic Monthly Company, on 16, Massachusetts.

therefore, in looking sharply to the methods of his government's diplomacy, even when he is uncertain about its purposes.

In the fabric of international life, there are a great many questions that have no certain Christian significance at all. They represent conflicts between those elements of secular motivation which are themselves without apparent Christian meaning: commercial interests, prestige considerations, fears, and what not. I do not think we can conclude that it matters greatly to God whether the free trade area or the Common Market prevails in Europe, whether the British fish or do not fish in Icelandic territorial waters, or even whether Indians or Pakistani run Kashmir. It might matter, but it is hard for us, with our limited vision, to know.

But these are all questions which reflect the normal frictions between peace-loving nations. How about the issues of the cold war? How about colonialism? How about aid to the underdeveloped areas? How about the United Nations as an institution? How about the atom? Are not Christian values involved in our attitude toward these questions?

Our Competition With Moscow

In its internal policies, the state can create a decent human atmosphere, in which the individual has the maximum possibility for grappling in a hopeful and constructive way with the moral problems of personal life. Or it can, as we have seen in the examples of Hitler and Stalin and the Chinese Communists, strike out on the most appalling lines of viciousness and cruelty, deliberately fostering a real sickness of the human spirit and inculcating in people's minds, for its own purposes, suspicion, terror, callousness, and the habit of brutality—creating conditions dreadfully adverse to the success of the Christian cause. Christianity cannot be indifferent to the existence of such doctrines and methods; and whatever prevents their spread and their triumph on a world scale serves, it seems to me, a Christian purpose.

But I do not think this means that every measure that is damaging to international Communism is necessarily good and every measure that is acceptable to a Communist government is necessarily bad. T world is not that simple. Our competit with Moscow is not the only signific reality of international affairs. Our polic furthermore, must take into account interests of the peoples under Comm nist rule as well as those of their gove ments. Again, we have the question method and the fact that not even greatest conviction of righteousness in purposes absolves us from the obligation decency in method. If we allow oursel to copy our adversary's methods as a me of combating him, we may have lost battle before we start; for this is, after what is most essentially at stake.

Furthermore, we must not make mistake of regarding international C munism as a static, unchanging quantity the pattern of world realities. While full-blown totalitarian state in all its natural, nightmarish horror is certainly abomination in the sight of God, one c not say this of the conservative author rian state which has been the norm Western society in the Christian era. A we must not forget that it is in this di tion that the Soviet government, as distr from the Chinese Communist governm has been rapidly evolving since Stal death. Its gravitation in this direction not been final or decisive, but it has been negligible. The mere fact that most characteristic feature of totalitar horror, the punishment of whole cate ies of people for abstract or preven reasons, has been abolished shows how the Russians have come since Stalin's

Now between democracy and traditio authoritarianism there are still differen but they are relative and do not pres clear-cut issues. The authoritarian regi despite its origins and its sanctions, o rests on a wide area of popular accepta and reflects popular aspirations in portant degree. In democratic countr on the other hand, such things as operations of lobbies and political par and the inevitable control of nominat by small groups of people tend to re the ideal representativeness of gov ment and to make it hard to view political process as much more than a n tive expression of the popular will.

And if you consider, as I do, that

ıe of a democratic society in the Chris- sense depends not just on the fact of njoying certain rights and liberties but the nature of the use made of them, ı I think you have to raise questions ut our American society of this day. se questions do not need to make us hope or hang our heads, but they ıld cause us to be cautious in drawing clusions about the merit in God's eyes ny particular form of society.

ll these considerations lead me to feel , while Christian values often are in- ed in the issues of American conflict ı Soviet power, we cannot conclude everything we want automatically re- s the purpose of God and everything Russians want reflects the purpose of devil. The pattern is complex, fuzzy, unstable. We must look sharply at ı individual issue before we jump to clusions. We must bear in mind that e are things we do not know and can- know. We must concede the possibility there might be some areas of conflict olved in this cold war which a Divine er could contemplate only with a sense ity and disgust for both parties, and rs in which He might even consider o be wrong.

The Tragedy of Colonialism

much for the cold war. How about nialism? Nobody seems to suggest any e, I notice, that God might conceiv- be on the side of the metropolitan er, despite the fact that of the two ies involved it is often the mother ntry that represents the Christian soci- and the colonial people the pagan one. assumption usually encountered today at any form of foreign rule is neces- y oppressive and worse than any form ndigenous rule. The next assumption at any anti-colonial effort is therefore matically good in the Christian sense at self-determination, in short, is a istian purpose.

am confident that for such assumptions e is not a shred of justification. The tion of the edifice of modern colo- ism was not a moral act or a series of al acts but the response to obvious his- al conditions and necessities. It was a nomenon occasioned by the fact that industrialism burst forth in Europe and North America more than a hundred years earlier than it did in other parts of the globe and thus produced huge and sudden disparities in physical and administrative power. This called for a political response, and colonialism was this response. We Americans were spared a greater participation in it only because of our preoccupation with the development of our own continent—for no other reason.

Today the colonial relationship has outworn in many instances—though by no means all—its original technological and psychological justification. A great part of the colonial system has been liquidated, and another part of it is in course of liquidation. This process could not fail to give rise to tensions of tragic bitterness and difficulty. In the anatomy of these tensions, one will look in vain, as a rule, for any Christian meaning. The resistance to change on the part of the mother country has sometimes reflected selfishness and shortsightedness, and it has also reflected in many cases a genuine sense of responsibility. Conversely, the demand for change on the part of the colonial people has sometimes reflected a real love of liberty, and it has often been borne by a spirit fiercely chauvinistic, full of hatred, undemocratic, and irresponsible.

Let us, as Christians, view these resulting conflicts for what they are: tragic situations, in which the elements of right and wrong are indistinguishable to us. Let us remember that insofar as these situations reflect racial differences, we ourselves stand before God and the world as one of the most conspicuous examples of the failure to find a satisfactory Christian solution to such problems. Let us learn to view this whole subject of colonialism with humility, with detachment, with compassion for both sides. Let us not abuse the confidence of Christ by invoking his judgment one way or another on situations that were obviously beyond the power of mortal man to prevent and are now beyond the power of mortal man to liquidate without pain and strife.

Or take the problems of technical assistance and other forms of aid to underdeveloped peoples. Here, too, I must argue against the absolutes. I can think of no

question of Christian doctrine which needs critical examination more than the question of what constitutes charity. Even in the personal sense, in the relations between individuals, I often wonder whether we do not constantly misinterpret the term and whether it does not contain a host of subjective pitfalls. Charity is not giving people things which will only encourage them to postpone facing up to the necessities under which they are going to have to live in the long run. I question the handout as a means of bringing any important benefit to anyone, even in personal life. How much more complicated, then, is the matter of charity between nations. It is difficult to benefit a whole nation, as distinct from certain factions and elements in its competitive life, by anything you do to it from outside which affects its internal terms of competition. And make no mistake about it: every infusion of foreign aid has this effect. There are always some who benefit from it and others whose interests are damaged by it.

But beyond this, foreign aid, to be really effective as a gesture of Christian charity, would have to be understood as such a gesture by the recipients as well as by the donors. But most foreign peoples do not believe that governments do things for selfless and altruistic motives; and if we do not reveal to them a good solid motive of self-interest for anything we do with regard to them, they are apt to invent one. This can be a more sinister one than we ever dreamed of, and their belief in it can cause serious confusion in our mutual relations.

Foreign aid has a place in our foreign policy; but the favorable possibilities for it are more slender than people generally suppose. The less it consists of outright grants, the better. The less we try to clothe it in the trappings of disinterested altruism—to view it as Christian charity—the more we can show it as a rational extrapolation of our own national interest, better understood and the more effec it is going to be abroad.

The UN as a Symbol of Conscience

The sovereign national state, to wh so much reverent devotion is paid in various gradations of patriotism and ch vinism that make up national feelings, no foundation in Christian principle, wh ever its secular justification. Nowhere Christ's teachings was it suggested t mankind ought to be divided into po cal families of this nature, each a law to itself, each recognizing no higher auth ity than its own national ego, each ass ing its interest to be more worthy of s ice than any other with which it mi come into conflict. Surely this whole the is an absurdity from the Christian sta point. Before we could achieve a Christ foreign policy would have to o come this unlimi egotism of the ereign national s and find a higher terest which all us could recogn and serve.

How about United Nations? will be asked. Is not an institut which, insofar a represents an deavor to transcend national sovereig deserves our support as a vehicle of Christian purpose?

The UN represents not a supergov ment, not a separate institutional per ality, but one of a number of forums which governments communicate with another. It does not, in reality, transc the barrier of sovereignty. Its members governments, not peoples, and such slen authority as it sometimes possesses is ferred upon it by these governments, still acting within the sovereign framew

There is no particular Christian s tity lent to decisions taken in the Un Nations by the fact that they represent views of a majority of governments. L countries are not necessarily more virtu or more enlightened than big ones; and

ernational majority does not necessarily lect the Christian answer, or even the st wise and courageous answer, to anyng.

On the other hand, the UN does repent the germ of something immensely essary and immensely hopeful for this dangered world: namely, a sense of conence higher than the national one, a se of the fellowship of fate by which are all increasingly bound together. I not conceive of a satisfactory future for manity that does not embrace, and draw strength from, the growth of this conusness. The present UN is the symbol it. This symbol is still weak and tender, t it is not insignificant. We must therefore cherish it and guard it, not burden it beyond its strength, not looking to it the impossible, but strengthening it ere and when we can, above all in our n thoughts and attitudes.

This does not mean that all UN decins are to be taken as automatically ht and good. It does not mean that all lomatic questions should be uncritically signed to the UN, whether or not this a suitable place for their discussion. t it does mean that we should be care and respectful of the organization as h, remembering that if the idea which ymbolizes is ever allowed to depart from ernational life, nothing else can stand ween us and the horrors of a wholly otic world in the atomic age.

The Moral Implications of War

This brings me now to the questions on ich I think a Christian might, with good science, really take a stand. They inve not just the national interests of inidual governments but rather the inters of civilization: the question of war, l the atom, and the other weapons of ss destruction.

am aware that the institution of war always represented dilemmas for Chrisn thought to which no fully satisfactory swer has ever been offered. I have, in the t, found myself unable to go along with Quakers in their insistence on a sweep renunciation of power as a factor in ernational affairs. I do not see the real of so clear a distinction as they draw ween domestic affairs and international affairs. The Communists have taught us that these two things are intimately connected, that civil wars have international implications and that international wars have domestic implications everywhere. I am unable therefore to accept the view which condemns coercion on the international sphere but tolerates it within the national borders.

But that we cannot rule out force completely in international affairs does not seem to me to constitute a reason for being indifferent to the ways in which force is applied—to the moral implications of weapons and their uses. It is true that all distinctions among weapons from the moral standpoint are relative and arbitrary. Gunpowder was once viewed with a horror not much less, I suppose, than are atomic explosives today. But who is to say that relative distinctions are not meaningful? I cannot help feeling that the weapon of indiscriminate mass destruction goes farther than anything the Christian ethic can properly accept. The older weapons, after all, were discriminate in the sense that they had at least a direct coherent relationship to political aims. They were seen as means of coercing people directly into doing things an enemy government wished them to do; evacuating territory, desisting from given objectives, accepting a given political authority. A distinction was still generally drawn, furthermore, prior to World War I at least, between the armed forces and the civilian population of a hostile country. Efforts were made to see that military action was directed only against those who themselves had weapons in their hands and offered resistance. The law of war did not yet permit the punishment of whole peoples as a means of blackmail against governments.

In all of these respects, the atom offends. So do all the other weapons of mass destruction. So, for that matter, did the conventional bomber of World War II when it was used for area bombing. In taking responsibility for such things as the bombing of Dresden and Hamburg, to say nothing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Americans went beyond what it seems to me the dictates of Christian conscience should have allowed (which is not to say that I think their problem was an easy one).

I regret, as an American and as a Christian, that these things were done. I think it should be our aim to do nothing of the sort in any future military encounter. If we must defend our homes, let us defend them as well as we can in the direct sense, but let us have not part in making millions of women and children and noncombatants hostages for the behavior of their own governments.

It will be said to me: This means defeat. To this I can only reply: I am skeptical of the meaning of "victory" and "defeat" in their relation to modern war between great countries. To my mind the defeat is war itself. In any case it seems to me that there are times when we have no choice but to follow the dictates of our conscience, to throw ourselves on God's mercy, and not to ask too many questions.

Atomic Testing

But this is not the only moral connotation of the atom. There is another in the great controversy that has raged over the question of atomic testing, its effect on the atmosphere, and its consequences for human health. My colleagues in the scientific field advise me to stay away from this subject. They point out that there is a great deal about it which is not yet known; that scientists are themselves in wide disagreement about its seriousness; that I, as a scientific layman, would not even be able to understand the terms in which it is put. All this I readily concede; but even the little that is known to the general public is enough to pose a problem of Christian conscience.

Let us take a random sampling of recent press reports. During the first eight months of 1958, we are told, the fall-out of radioactive strontium on New York City increased by 25 per cent. Readings in Los Angeles are said by the health department of that city to have revealed for limited periods a count of five hundred to one thousand times the normal radioactivity in the atmosphere and double the intens considered safe for continuous exposu over a lifetime. Only a few weeks ago servations in Sweden showed radioactiv at ten kilometers above sea level to five times as intense as it was earlier the year, and individual particles were tected (apparently at ground level), "larg and thought to be more radioactive, th any yet reported except from the imme ate area of a test explosion." A similar port has come from Brazil.

All this is only the beginning; a la part of the fall-out from the tests c ducted thus far is, we are told, still in t higher atmosphere and will not desce for years. Furthermore, the effect of rad active substances on human health is cum lative, so that any unnatural exposure p sumably reduces the tolerance of exposu from natural causes or for medical p poses.

In the face of these facts, I listen wi some amazement to the statements wi which some of t scientists endeavor reassure us about su developments. T damages, they s have been "negligibl so far. Not *ma* deaths, they say, c be expected to ens from this increase radioactivity compar with those which cur from natur causes. One scient pained and astounded at the concern abo the radioactive particles in Sweden, plained that if, for example, 100 peo would be killed by the effects of a norm atomic explosion, then only 102 could expected to die from the effects of the creased radioactivity which Sweden been experiencing.

But whoever gave us the right, as Ch tians, to take even one innocent hum life, much less 102 or 102,000? I re no quantitative stipulation in the Si Commandment. God did not say throu Moses that to take 102,000 lives was wick but 102 was all right. I fail to see h any of this can be reconciled with the Ch tian conscience.

am delighted that our government now
ws a serious readiness to work toward
termination of these experiments with
mic explosives. We must go farther and
k toward the elimination of the use of
mic weapons in war as well. This can-
be done in a day, and not all that
ds to be done can be done by us. But
can at least make a beginning by en-
voring to free ourselves from our un-
e dependence on atomic weapons in our
n military calculations, from our fateful
mmitment to the first use of these weap-
, whether or not they are used against

Our Obligation to the Future

here is a principle involved here which
application beyond just the field of
apons, to a number of other effects in
introduction of modern technology. We
this generation are only the custodians,
the owners, of the earth on which we
. There were others who lived here be-
e, and we hope there will be others who
going to live here afterward. We have
obligation to past generations and to
ure ones, no less solemn than our obli-
ions to ourselves. I fail to see that we
in any way justified in making, for the
ty or convenience of our own genera-
n, alterations in our natural environ-
nt which may importantly change the
ditions of life for those who come after-
rd.

The moral laws which we acknowledge
dicate the existence of a certain sort of
rld—a certain sort of natural environ-
nt—in which people live. This setting
sumably reflects God's purpose. We did
creat it; we do not have the right to
troy it. We know the problems which
s environment poses for man. We know
nature of the Christian effort to find
swers to them. We live by this lore.
hen we permit this environment to be
ered quite basically by things we do to-
, we are taking upon ourselves a respon-
ility for which I find no authority in the
ristian faith.

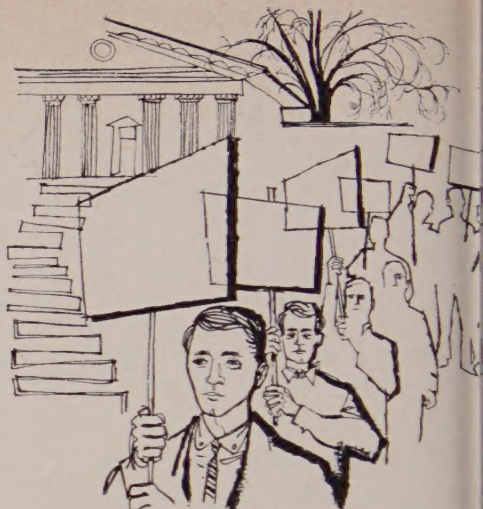
Obviously, we do not know what the ultimate effects will be of the atomic weapons tests we have already conducted. I am not sure that we know what will be the ultimate effects of our methods of disposal of radioactive wastes. I doubt that we know what we are doing to the sea through the use of modern detergents and the fouling of its surface with oil. I am not sure that we know what we are doing with modern insecticides, which we employ quite recklessly in agriculture for our immediate purposes, giving little thought to their ultimate effects. We who call ourselves Christians must acknowledge responsibility in these matters, most of which are international in their implications.

We will unavoidably find in the motives and workings of the political process much that is ambiguous in the Christian sense. In approaching the individual conflicts between governments which make up so much of international relations, we must beware of pouring Christian enthusiasm into unsuitable vessels which were at best designed to contain the earthy calculations of the practical politicians. But there are phases of the government's work in which we can look for Christian meaning. We can look for it, first of all, in the methods of our diplomacy, where decency and humanity of spirit can never fail to serve the Christian cause.

Beyond that there loom the truly apocalyptic dangers of our time, the ones that threaten to put an end to the very continuity of history outside which we would have no identity, no face, either in civilization, in culture, or in morals. These dangers represent for us not only political questions but stupendous moral problems, to which we cannot deny the courageous Christian answer. Here our main concern must be to see that man, whose own folly once drove him from the Garden of Eden, does not now commit the blasphemous act of destroying, whether in fear or in anger or in greed, the great and lovely world in which, even in his fallen state, he has been permitted by the grace of God to live.

Peace Moves ON THE *Campus*

BY ALLAN BRICK



COLLEGE CAMPUSES, long vacant of responsible opinion, today provide momentous opportunities for pacifist organization.

Last summer I suspected this. But now, after watching in amazement the results of some experiments in opinion-making on my campus, I know it is true.

A normal image of Dartmouth College is that of a fraternity-ridden colony of crewcut aborigines who regard "booking" as strictly "Mickey Mouse" and give their passions only to athletics, drinking parties and Winter Carnivals—which they regard as the apex of every girl's dream. With great relief, I learned that this is not a fair picture for the full 3,000 Dartmouth undergraduates. Permitted to see that there is such an issue as "conscience and modern war," enabled to learn the basic facts in this area, quite a few young men—and particularly the "intellectuals"—will step away from their uneasy alliance with the mass to become courageously outspoken individuals.

A year ago last spring I had the enormous pleasure of participating in the Peace Walk from New Haven to New York. By far the best reward of that week was the opportunity of meeting like-minded people and spending hour upon hour in conversations that, uninterrupted by worldly circumstances (other than an occasional stone in the shoe), could really get somewhere. Probably the last person I ever expected to encounter in *such* a seminar was a man who introduced himself as a student fr Dartmouth; but there he was, tall a rather wild-eyed behind his Castro be and uncrewcut black hair. A philosop major named David Greenstein, he cons ered his role on the Walk humanitari rather than religious, but he didn't seem mind that many of those present cons ered themselves "Christian." Like most t students of philosophy, he was prepared believe that church membership does n necessarily preclude a devotion to tru On the Walk he discoverd that, like hi self, a few Christians knew that man's c cern for fellow man could be stronger th the American fear and cynicism which l led to the nuclear missiles race.

Last winter I met David again, this ti at the home of a pacifist lady who, liv near the campus, provides weekly occasi for Dartmouth intellectuals to huddle gether in the warmth of opinions. Atte ing these social hours fairly regula David and I became well acquainted w each other's approaches to our favorite s ject; and finally one of us—I forget wh —said, "Why not try to get a pacifist gr going at Dartmouth?" So in March, at beginning of the spring term, we brou together some fifteen renegade intellectu six of whom are members of the facult three from English, one from Drama, from Music, and one biologist from Medical School (members of the Gov ment and Religion departments w conspicuous by their absence). This gr

ided to revive for its new purposes undergraduate organization which, unct for over a year, had been called Dartmouth Human Rights Society. only did we like the name—which med a proper threshold for new minds ophisticated about "pacifism"—but also liked the fact that the forerunner had n devoted to civil liberties. Retaining devotion, we planned to emphasize violent approaches to world peace, the essary ground on which human freedom ld flourish. We adopted a Statement of nciples felt to be broad enough to gain initial interest of liberal and socially scious students. After supporting the nciples of the United Nations Charter, Statement asserted our belief that "only eliminating military force as an instru- nt of national policy can human rights achieved." And we were pleased to have Dartmouth student newspaper an- nce the purpose of the new student- lty group as that of "fostering a climate pinion favorable to pacifism."

The appearance of this manifesto mark- the formal opening of a spring cam- gn which probably benefited from sev- activities of the previous fall and ter. The first comprised my efforts in lf of the Hanover Friends Meeting to a number of lay and professional rep- ntatives of various religious groups act potential counselors for conscientious ection, in case any students interested hat subject should appear. Eventually College granted permission to place on ous campus bulletin boards copies of oster, put out by the Central Committee Conscientious Objectors, which begins otice Men of Draft Age!," cites the sec- of the Selective Service Act that makes scientious objection possible, and then es a space for a listing of the local nselors a young man might consult. The nd activity had to do with the produc- of two panel discussions over the pus radio station—one devoted to the gers of nuclear fallout and the other he problems of "conscience and modern ." The student program director, a paci- of the Catholic Worker persuasion, ar- ged my participation on each of the els. In addition to these projects there the appearance in January of John Swomley as lecturer in Great Issues—a required course for seniors, which consists of an evening address followed by a morning discussion period. In this formal address Swomley told, unadulterated, the facts of the nation's domination by the military and of the drift toward world holocaust, and he presented nonviolence as the only practical and moral solution. From his captive audience of seven hundred he received a general response of troubled incredulity and nervous ridicule. The next morning, in the question session, there was still the disbelief—but also a grudging admiration for his ability to apply impossible idealism to concrete world problems.

Although at the time I had no idea of further specific results from these activities, I now feel that all combined to provide a basis in the student mind for the more direct activities of April and May. Concepts associated with the word "pacifist" had been injected into the campus atmosphere, and the word itself was becoming a confusing and even sensational epithet.

Program and Activities

Early in April, as its manifesto appeared, the Human Rights Society began weekly programs of speakers, films, and discussion. The average attendance ran between thirty and forty students (plus a few faculty members and townspeople), though for the movie "Children of Hiroshima" there were one hundred. Toward the end of April a bulletin board was set up in the College Library, which, displaying miscellaneous information on fallout and the anti-war statements of certain leading citizens, featured "Boom," Jules Feiffer's brilliant cartoon story of the future of the nuclear missiles race. At about this point the campus newspaper began to give pacifism almost daily coverage—through "roving reporter" interviews, articles covering HRS meetings, and a sustained debate in the "letters" column. Furthermore, a number of stories and cartoons touching upon some phase of pacifism began to find their way into the campus literary and humor magazines. Probably the most interesting technique experimented with by the student members of the Society was their confrontation of several important visiting lecturers with the issues of pacifism *before* these speakers

gave their lectures to a Dartmouth audience. I am sure that it was because of this technique that both J. Robert Oppenheimer and Paul Tillich made rather strange and unsettling comments on pacifism in the course of lectures which had to do with other subjects: each remark seemed unfavorable—Tillich's abrupt denunciation of "theoretical pacifism"* was particularly troublesome—but still the concept was used, the speakers and, evidently, the audience being disturbed by its nature.

The success of the foregoing techniques has to do with the kind of Dartmouth student attracted to an anti-war position. He is a man not only with a good heart but also with a good head. By far the large majority of the two dozen or so students most involved are first-rate intellectuals, men eager and able to discuss matters—in a student kind of way—with a Tillich or an Oppenheimer. Many of them travel in the consciously individualistic groups of literary students who control the various campus publications. Very few of them are Christian, and those two or three who are seem painfully conscious of their essential estrangement from the religious groups on campus. I was awakened abruptly to this fact at the beginning of one April meeting when I found it necessary to make an introductory apology for the Christian terminology prevalent in the films "Alternatives" and "Not by Might," which were about to be shown. Rather aghast, I listened to myself tell the students, "Now in the second film, when you hear Mr. Muste talk about young men going out into the world with the gospel of Christ in their hands, don't react against the words. Try to see if there is some concrete meaning behind them."

While not religious in any conventional sense, these young men are idealists who, once they get the taste of what it is like to have opinions, become fearless activists, conscious of the traditional role of stude in a democracy. On May 13 fifteen or m students sat at the edge of their Coll "green" holding signs in protest against ROTC parade that filled its expa While not officially countenanced by Human Rights Society, this action co not have been regretted by any of its m bers (most of whom were taking part). sign-bearers sat silently at some rem from the parade, not interfering with ceremonies of another group, but mak emphatically clear their protest against presence of the military establishment a college campus. The participants h their placards, fully aware that cam police were prepared and the Navy d team had been deputized for the possibi of arresting demonstrators against the rade, and aware as well of rumors that ROTC officer had ordered his cadet ma ers to trample on any fanatics who mi be in their way.

Two days later, the spring's activi reached a climax when A. J. Muste sp to a group of three hundred students. noring the considerable efforts of a visit group of ROTC retaliators to heckle off the platform, Muste (who in his y in the labor movement had learned w *real* heckling could be) gained the found sympathy of his audience. Even of the hecklers stayed for the question iod following the speech, and by that were too interested in the exposition want to drown it out with noise; the l ers of this group apologized to Must the end of the meeting. Two hours the formal discussion was over, some students still remained—in small gr heatedly debating the speaker's argum against the United States policy of nu deterrence.

The Religious Controversy

With the term closing and the stud occupied with exams, there was one event—which demonstrated the attitud professional Christians at Dartmouth ward the furor. In a letter printed in campus daily, which began "Pacifists the most aggressive people I know!," Rev. George Kalbfleisch, director of Dartmouth Christian Union, took apar personally and pacifists generally for b

* I believe that Tillich would explain his point in this manner: To accept an elaborated theory as absolute end-object of devotion entails fanaticism rather than living faith. The religious believer must not substitute an expressed symbol—a "particular concern"—for the inexpressible "ultimate concern" that lies behind it. Thus a man who unreflectingly refuses to go to war, simply in automatic response to the dictates of his Bible or his Church, may be considered as amoral as the man who goes to war in unquestioning obedience of his country, *his* Bible, and *his* Church. Moral behavior is not a matter of preconditioned response—but of free will acting upon new revelation.

honest spokesmen for religion. For the st part, his letter was a direct reply to article of mine which the newspaper had nted several weeks before; and, because answer to my charge epitomizes what ms to me the typical attitude of the ristian Church on campuses today, I will ote the essense of each in an effort to ow Christian pacifist readers what they up against. I had written:

Pacifism has been traditionally a Christian estimony, the vigor of its idealism resulting rom the efforts of those who believed in Crucifixion. Where it exists today, Christian pacifism seems qualitatively stronger—and ainer—than ever before; it is now fully quipped to make the practical connections etween aspiring to the world as it should e and acting in the world as it is. Yet on he campus pacifists do not cluster within hurch groups, for the group leaders—the ministers and the students of divinity—have normally the professional perspective of a haplain: one who eases the Christian conscience into military service. The Church eaders willingly accept the rationalizations hich Niebuhr has warmed over for two ears now, rather than admit the Sermon n the Mount to their nation.

. Kalbfleisch replied:

Pacifism, to my knowledge at least, has never been traditionally a Christian testimony." Pacifism, like its opposite, has nothing to do with whether one is or is not Christian. It s a political philosophy, even political weapon used as a means for achieving a political end: the political peace of men and nations. . . . If "on the campus pacifists do not cluster within church groups" that is perfectly natural and they need not if that s their wish, because, while a Christian man may be either pacifist or not, the Church cannot be either. The Church knows (and its Lord died that it may be so for us!) that only the Kingdom of God will be pacific! It s the Christian persuasion that peace is an eschatological hope assured by the life, death nd resurrection of her Lord. . . . The Sermon on the Mount was preached because his is the way God's world is, and not because this is the way men can live if only hey will try. If they could so live by trying, he Lord wasted his time and his agony. The Sermon on the Mount was preached precisely because this is the way men will not live. One who makes peace (Blessed are he peacemakers!) is one who does so because re is blessed. It is not that he is blessed because he makes peace but that he is enabled to make peace because he is blessed. For the Sermon on the Mount, peace comes with a man because he is blessed by God nd not because he is a political pacifist."

ch is the nature of sophisticated orthodoxy. And if the response of most campus chaplains to the question of Christian conscience and modern war is urbane tolerance, a gentle but cold shoulder, rather than the bristling rebuttal of Mr. Kalbfleisch, it may be because they have yet to feel the bite of the pacifist movement forcing into their strongholds from without.

Just now it is outside the campus churches we must look if we want to find the student idealist—who might be posing as a bearded beatnik or a guitar-bearing folksinger with a perfect horror of religionists and their hypocritical preachings. We must go out and meet him where he is, realizing that by not being narrowly religious in our terminology and associations we might be discovering essential religion where it has today been driven. As we move, young pacifists will reappear in the churches and again will be the soul of our movement. But now it is too late in the day to wait within the sanctuary; the world is in desperate straits, as will be the pacifist movement if it does not seek out for itself young leadership.

The College Peace Union

The remarkable response to the experiments at Dartmouth indicates what could happen on any campus where there are two or three believers willing to do some practical work. In the midwest Ken Calkins, FOR National Council member and peace secretary for the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago, is proving this point. This year he has succeeded in forming the Student Peace Union, which now has 115 members and represents fourteen campuses. Flourishing chiefly at Northwestern, the SPU has been impressively successful in experiments in outdoor soapboxing, and is making plans for full-scale campus rallies in the Fall. In California Robert Pickus this year brought one phase of his "Acts for Peace" movement onto six campuses in the northern part of the state. Led by a core group of students and faculty members, the projects ran for a week on each campus. They included outdoor speaking and circularizing on the question "Should students challenge or support our country's dominantly military response to

(Continued on Page 35)

They Failed As Killers

AN ARTICLE-REVIEW

BY ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

The Ineffective Soldier: Lessons for Management and the Nation: vol. I, THE LOST DIVISIONS (xx + 225 pp.); vol. II, BREAKDOWN AND RECOVERY (xvii + 284 pp.); and vol. III, PATTERNS OF PERFORMANCE (xix + 340 pp.), by Eli Ginzberg and associates in the Conservation of Human Resources Project. Columbia University Press 1959. $6 a volume.

MANY A SO-CALLED "practical thinker" assumes without question the existence of similarities—even of something approaching an identity—between the use of manpower and leadership in the armed forces and in peacetime pursuits, especially in industry. An industrial production manager or sales director fantasies that his struggles are like those of a commanding officer in a military campaign. He may talk as though qualities leadership that football presumably nurtures in a star are directly useful to organize and guide any "team," whether on a battlefield, in an industrial shop, in a sales district, or in government.

In their three-volume report, *The Ineffective Soldier: Lessons for Management and the Nation*, Eli Ginzberg and his associates at Columbia University in the Conservation of Human Resources Project may have had no such intention, and I suspect they did not, but they give more evidence of difference than of similarity, as I would interpret it. Many of the "lost divisions" of World War II were only "lost" from the societally pathological activities of war-making. Only a very few of them could not be absorbed usefully into peaceful activities.

There may be close similarities between the brutality and the suppression of individuality in football and in the arm forces, but the qualities needed in indust government, unions, and the professio have many striking and basic differenc For one thing, "men who have alwa been encouraged to restrain their aggr sion are suddenly required to do the posite—they are trained to kill." (Vol. p. 4.)

General Eisenhower established the C servation of Human Resources Project 1950 at Columbia University. This Proje sponsored by 14 business corporations a the New York Community Trust, and wi some financing from the Ford Foundatio has as its advisor Major General Howa McC. Snyder, MC, USA, personal physici to the President, who wrote a foreword f each of the three volumes. With such su port and guidance, the armed forces we most cooperative.

To be brief I shall sum up the ch points in each volume:

I: *The Lost Divisions* are the "nearly 2 million men who failed, either because their own deficiencies or because of limi tions in manpower policies and procedu . . . the equivalent of some 165 division With that many more divisions availab about 55 would have been supportable combat purposes. "On several occasio our generals were barely able to hold t line because of their depleted manpow reserves." (I, 202-203.) A most signific comment on this situation is provided little earlier in the same volume: "There no way of calculating how many soldi resenting the fact that the Army was able to be equitable simply refused, c sciously or unconsciously, to continue i combat assignment. A man's willingness sacrifice depends on his faith in the

ity of the organization to which he be-
gs. Neither business nor the military can
ore this fact." (I, 200.) The constant
rt, as in the last sentence, to identify
interests and especially the problems
peration of business with those of the
itary is a bias in the whole work that
n violates reported facts and is ob-
usly a heavy preoccupation of the
ters.

I: *Breakdown and Recovery*. In order to
over why one out of seven young men
ween 18 and 37 "was adjudged to be
ffective because of an emotional or edu-
onal disability," the Project group
de a detailed study of 79 life histories
soldiers who broke down in the armed
es, "most of whom recovered after their
urn to civilian life." (II, xv, 269.) Many
ho had been brought up in a strict re-
ous community and who, until their in-
tion, had lived according to their be-
s . . . experienced emotional conflicts in
Army which finally prevented them
n performing effectively." (II, 112-113.)
a summary of "the lesson" of this
ume (p. 275), two sentences stand out:
en a brave and patriotic man can be
ken by the agonies of combat. . . .
n if he breaks down, he is likely to
ver if he is aided by a loving family,
ympathetic government, and there is a
ce for him in an expanding economy."
much has often been said of juvenile
inquents and criminals. They, too, can
n function well in a sane society.

II: *Patterns of Performance*. Why did
many men presumably "fail"? In passing,
authors note that certain clergymen
"found a direct connection between the decline in religious training of youth and the unwillingness of many soldiers to endure hardships when their country was in danger." This strange statement, even though it is quite likely accurate, is not further spelled out and qualified nor is it substantiated. What ministers? What kind of "religious" training? "Others pointed to the hidden toll resulting from the inroads of pacifism which had swept the country after World War I—if the waging of war is pronounced by many leaders to be totally unjustified, young people will not rush to the colors when their country is attacked." (III, 5.) In the military frame of reference, the teachings of such pacifists as Jesus are a perennial problem.

One can observe the use of social scientists in our universities for such a purpose only with regret. Too many rationalizations are now at hand and being used to justify the subsidy of such research projects by special interests. The easiest one is that only so can such "valuable laboratory materials" be made available to our social scientists. More significant it is to note that in that manner our social scientists find themselves obliged—those who will do such things—to force their facts and interpretations in order to "sell" the project and then future projects to their sources of finance.

In this study, as in so many, the wisdom of war and of a specific war in national strategy is unquestioned. So much more would be gained for society if a small share of the same effort were devoted to this more fundamental aspect of the problem: Why can't we use another strategy?

"WE'RE NOT YET READY FOR INTEGRATION"

Give us more time to wallow in our sins:
This town is not where brotherhood begins.
We need more time to get from here to there;
We haven't started moving anywhere.
Unruly haste, and things get out of hand.
Leave us our little houses built on sand.
Our rights are threatened; grant another stay.
We're not yet ready for the Judgment Day.
A thousand years, and things will start to whiz.
We are not ready yet.—Alas God is.

—Edith Lovejoy Pierce

The Nuclea Graveyar

BY RITCHIE CALD

In the drowned landscape beneath the oceans there are great valleys, in comparison with which the Grand Canyon of Colorado, a mile deep, 200 miles long, is not so very grand. Nineteen ocean "trenches" are over four and a half miles deep and some are thousands of miles long. In the search for "burial grounds" for the disposal of radioactive wastes, which may become a problem when the atomic industry develops on a world-wide scale, those "trenches" seemed likely places. It was assumed that they were troughs of stagnant water. There, so the argument went, the dangerous elements, in their concrete metal coffins, would lie undisturbed for centuries until their radioactivity was spent.

This glib assumption was questioned three years ago at the first International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. At the second meeting in Geneva the illusion was finally dispelled.

In the intervening years the Russian ship *Vitayaz* carried out oceanographic investigations of 12 of these trenches. The findings of the expedition have shown that the trenches are unsuitable places for the disposal of radioactive waste.

The Biological Elevator

At the conference, Dr. E. M. Kreps (USSR) reported in detail on the Tonga Trench, which extends southwards for nearly 700 miles from the Samoa Islands to the Kermadec Islands. The Russian expedition found that, by comparison w the findings of the *Galatea* expedition 1952, the deep water temperature h risen. This showed that even at the gre est depth a change of water takes pl in as brief a space as five years. The tribution of oxygen and phosphates the presence of living organisms consu ing oxygen at every depth showed that water was actively mixing, horizontally vertically. This means that the danger materials with long-lived radioactivity be liable to break loose and escape wards into the upper layers of water. Th marine life would become radioactively fected and form a biological chain react which would end up in the food of hum beings.

This warning was reinforced, at the ference, by Dr. B. H. Ketchum, of Woods Hole Oceanographic Institut He showed that there was a kind biological elevator in the sea which wo bring radioactive materials from the de to the surface. Sea organisms, he show concentrated the fission products so t the plankton in the Bikini test area of Pacific had 470 times more radioacti than the water itself.

In life, the marine organisms wo pick up, concentrate and transfer radioactivity from the contaminated la of the ocean to the uncontaminated. death, the organisms would sink towa the bottom and the fission products, bou up in their skeletons, would increase

ioactivity in the depths. Thus there ld be an upward and downward move- nt of radioactivity, apart from any mix- of the upper and lower waters. This istically changes the picture which as- ed that the transfer between the deeps l the surface would take about 300 rs.

No Cause for Alarm

Both Britain and America have been nping radioactive materials in the At- tic trenches but of a kind and on a le which so far gives no cause for con- n. The British explained that the only terials they had so far deposited were ntaminated machinery from Harwell, of hape which made it awkward for storing m in the safety tanks in which long- d fission products are kept. The total ount of radioactivity deposited in eight rs in the deeps by the British, amounted about 600 curies, an insignificant ount in dilution. The Americans have ried out regular surveys of their "ocean veyards" and have found no evidence any increase in the radioactivity of the ter.

The disposal of radioactive liquid wastes coastal waters is another matter. The itish have had a long experience of dis- sing of this kind of "sewage" from their m factory at Windscale in Cumberland. pipeline carried the effluent two miles yond high water mark into the Irish Sea. his is very mild radioactivity, since the in fission product wastes are concen- ted and stored inland. The discharging to the sea is carried out under strict pervision of government inspectors and der public health regulations already tablished. To inspection at source, is ded strict and continual hydrographic d biological surveys of the sea and the oreline. As part of this program over ,000 fish were caught and marked and me recaught under a planned fishing ogram. These, like the edible sea- eed and the sands of the shore, have ven little indication whatever of any in- ease in radioactivity which might cause ncern.

The Russians at the conference took a ry strong line that no radioactivity of y kind should be disposed of in open waters, or on land, under any conditions in which it might seep into the ground water. They reported that even their mild effluent is run into concrete ditches and sealed off by concrete.

What was made abundantly and consistently clear was that the disposal of waste so far has not been on a scale, nor in circumstances, which constitute a present public health hazard. The insistence of the many technical papers presented on this subject was on the precautions necessary for the future. What was emphasized was that a great deal more research must be done before any kind of "dumping" could be tolerated. The only safe method of storage is in tanks in which the radioactive substances are are allowed to decay—and some of them will take centuries to do so. To the complications of storage is added the fact that in giving off their radiation the elements are producing heat which, in given circumstances, will cause the tanks to boil—and go on boiling for 100 years.

And, of course, there is always the risk, even in peaceful uses, of an accident. Again, experience so far has been reassuring. The atomic energy industry, already employing hundreds of thousands of people, is, on its record, the safest of all industries. Its accident rate, even in terms of non-radioactive accidents, is the lowest of any industry—because the preoccupation with the new kind of hazards has increased the precautions against the old kind of hazards.

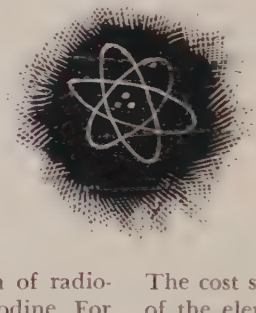
The most serious accident so far has been the "burn-out" of the British reactor at the Windscale plutonium factory. There were no casualties and no-one suffered ill-effects.

Public Health Lesson

But it demonstrated a public health risk. The reactors at Windscale which had been operating since 1950 are air-cooled. Cooling air is drawn through filters from the atmosphere and then blown through the reacter core. The exhaust air is passed through a bank of filters mounted at the top of a stack 410 feet high. On the occasion of the accident these filters trapped the larger particles from the damaged reactor but finer particles and gases escaped. At the Geneva conference a detailed ac-

count was given, which will become a text book lesson for public health authorities everywhere. It included an exact record of meteorological conditions, and of the "flying squads" of radiation experts who toured the area examining the herbage, the soil and, eventually, the milk. The milk revealed the presence of radioactive iodine and the milk from farms over an area of 200 square miles was banned from use. Vegetables, eggs, meat and drinking water were also monitored but no contamination was found which would constitute a hazard. Adults and children were examined to discover if any radioiodine had been ingested and had found its way to the thyroid gland. No results were found to cause dismay.

The survey was extended to Southern Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland and North Wales, and later samples of milk were collected from the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland and the South of Scotland. The outcome of these immediate and also long-term studies showed no significant deposition of radioactivity other than radioactive iodine. For the physicists and engineers the accident emphasized the precautionary measures needed in design and in control of reactors. For the public health authorities it was an alarming but salutary experience which will be turned to account in legislation and in practice as atomic power stations develop not only in Britain but throughout the world.



International Control

It underlined the appeal made by the Netherlands Royal Academy of Sciences to the conference for international measures to control the radiation risks. As Professor J. H. de Boer, the spokesman for the Academy, emphasized at the final session of the conference, radioactivity knows no frontiers. The hazards are particularly serious in Western Europe with its dense population and great industrial activity presently to be increased by atomic power reactors. He pointed out that the siting of reactors might be a hazard to neighbori countries and that there must be inter tional agreement about their location. cited the "stationary sources of danger" all types of reactors, fuel reprocessi plants, stores of radioactive waste and dustries increasingly using radioisotop But he also cited mobile sources—ato driven ships and possibly, later, aircra and the transport of radioactive materi by sea, air and land. The radioactive m terial might cross territorial frontiers the atmosphere, the waters of the ocea rivers, lakes, canals, etc., and by act transport. While insisting that the pr lem for Western Europe is more urge than for any other part of the world on behalf of the Royal Netherlan Academy, appealed for international reg lation of radioacti hazards.

As a measure of t problem, consider th the United States 14 years has accum lated 60,000,000 g lons of radioactive e ments stored in mo than a hundred i destructible steel tan The cost so far has been $65,000,000. So of the elements will remain dangerous f decades, others for centures and, in t case of plutonium, for at least 24,000 yea

Forty-two years from now—on the es mates of the world's use of peaceful atom power for 2000 A.D.—the amount of was will require 100,000 acres *a year* as "buri grounds"—that is, if they use the mo compact methods of disposal, like fusi the fission products in glass.

As the chairman of one of the sessio commented, "The tombs of radioacti waste are becoming as elaborate and e pensive as those for the mummies of t Pharaohs."

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION BULLETIN

SEPT. 1, 1959
VOL. 25 NO. 17

PEACE ACTION AT HOME AND ABROAD

On September 13, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will begin a number of actions to mark a National Nuclear Disarmament Week. The youth section of CND will march from Trafalgar Square to Victoria Park. Ministers will preach sermons on nuclear disarmament and a week-long picket will be maintained day and night in Whitehall near 10 Downing Street. Throughout England there will be marches and rallies in the larger towns, and the week will culminate in a final rally in London on September 20. As one journalist said, referring pointedly to last year's great march to Aldermaston, the campaign has attained the proportions of the biggest mass movement to occur in England since the General Strike of nearly four decades ago.

In the United States there is no such mass movement. Peace action still has not moved very far outside the pacifist orbit. At Fort Detrick, Maryland, small groups of dedicated men and women continue, day after day, to bear their quiet dignity against one of the uglier aspects of the American Way of Life. Their presence at the gates of the germ warfare factory at Fort Detrick is in effect a silent reproach to the consciences of those who earn their daily bread by concocting poisons to pollute the world.

Although its impact has not been great, the Vigil, which was initiated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has not gone unnoticed. A group of 13 women, leaders in the United Church of Christ, communicated their "support of and wholehearted agreement with the Vigil" and said they would send copies of this communication to the President and to the respective Senators and Congressmen of the women represented. On August 2, thirty people in New York distributed leaflets supporting the Vigil as well as Omaha Action, the direct-action protest against U. S. Missiles. In Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, a 34-hour vigil was held August 14-16, and several people have spread the word by writing letters to the editors of local newspapers.

Vigil Coordinator Lawrence Scott reports that the Vigil will continue "indefinitely." It needs money and, most of all, increasing numbers of concerned

(Continued on next page)

The Military Mind

"We were told that before the Vigil began (the authorities had, of course, been notified) live ammunition was issued to the garrison and bayonet drill instituted; that the guard at the gate had been doubled! Foolish? Yes. Stupid? Yes. But tragic in its revelation of a complete inability to trust a pledged word; its total incapacity to make other than the one rehearsed, conditioned response of violence.

"The personnel in the Fort were under strict orders to ignore us completely and they dutifully tried to turn their eyes away as they passed. But they saw us. One day the wife of one of the GIs paused to assure us of her sympathy and that her soldier husband agreed with us. She was promptly reprimanded by the guards in the gate house...."

--Norman J. Whitney, reporting on his participation in the Appeal and Vigil at Fort Detrick.

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Peace Action *(cont'd.)*

supporters. Throughout the country there must be many millions of Christians and men of good will who know nothing of what for years has been going on behind the gates of Fort Detrick. These are the people whose ignorance and apathy make Fort Detrick possible and the Vigil necessary. When enough of them say No to germ warfare, the men in the Pentagon may be compelled to find more honorable means of defending their country. Such a means is in fact being demonstrated on a modest scale in the resolute nonviolence of the Vigil participants.

The Vigil's office is located at 324 W. Patrick St., Frederick, Maryland.

Pentagon Presses For New Nuclear Tests

Last month Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy said it "would be desirable" to resume nuclear weapons tests if there is no agreement at Geneva by October 31. On that date in 1958 the U. S. suspended its tests for a year, hoping to facilitate negotiations to end such tests.

In his August 7 column in the Washington *Post*, Marquis Childs quoted a confidential government memorandum as saying that the Soviets "have to date accepted every United States requirement concerning control with the single exception of considering new data on underground detection."

To date, the U. S. has already conducted 131 tests to the USSR's 55 an Britain's 21. Aside from adding to exis ing radioactive fallout, U. S. resum tion of tests would be an open invit tion to Britain and Russia to resum tests -- and for France to go ahea with plans for its first nuclear test.

Youth Peace Fellowship Petitions World Leaders

The first project of the recentl formed Youth Peace Fellowship is petition to be sent to U. S. Secretar of State Christian A. Herter, UN Sec retary General Dag Hammarskjold President Eisenhower, Prime Ministe Macmillan and Premier Khrushchev urging adoption by the UN and the Bi Three of "nonviolent means of puttin an end to the present world conflict." News of the petition was announce in the first issue of *Agapé*, monthl 8-page newsletter of the YPF. Copie of the petition and *Agapé* are obtain able from YPF, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd room 205, Los Angeles, Calif., or fro the editor, Bob Keeling, 215 Herric Road, Boston 59, Mass.

Church Group Boosts FOR Cards

In its "Action Guide" for loc churches, the Committee on Work Peace of the New York East Annua Conference of the Methodist Churc lists "Action by the Calendar," wit a boost for Fellowship Christmas car noted under December and the film "Alternatives," under January. Ne Fellowship cards for 1959, just o the press, feature a brand-new versio of the beloved prayer of St. Franci and a verse by Carl Sandburg, eac with appropriate artwork that cann be adequately described here. Folde showing the cards in full color wi be mailed out to FELLOWSHIP reade and others in mid-September.

Two FOR cards from previous year both available at reduced prices her will be issued jointly in Britain b *Peace News* and the British FOR.

NEWS from the peace front

The Children's Program of the erican Friends Service Committee ll feature refugee aid projects this l. Printed folders, to be available er this month, show refugee children war-torn Algeria. One outlines a Christmas caps" project in which lls of yarn and knitting needles are st used as Christmas ornaments, then nt to needy Algerian refugee mothers o will knit caps for their children. other has slots for ten nickels to enurage American youngsters to save d contribute to the AFSC's Algerian fugee Fund. Each nickel provides a g of milk for a hungry child.

Copies of the folders are obtainable m Children's Program, AFSC, 20 . 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. Other forts on behalf of the world's refuees are being channeled through lol churches into denominational agenes and Church World Service.

* * *

The U. S. Committee on Refugees, aded by Francis B. Sayre Jr., dean the National Cathedral (Episcopal) Washington, D. C., has served as nsulting body with Senator Thomas nnings in drafting an "open end" fugee aid bill that would lift immigran barriers for 20,000 refugees a year. he bill would also appropriate $10 llion annually for resettlement and habilitation of refugees in other untries. The "open end" aspect uld make the program a permanent e not requiring annual renewal.

The sum to be appropriated would less than 1/3 of 1% of the amount w spent each year for foreign mili-ry aid, and less than 1/70 of 1% of e total U.S. budget.

* * *

In Japan last month the Socialist rty, in its "action program" for the xt year, called for abandonment of at country's military alliance with e United States and the conversion Japan into a neutralist power. Negotiations have long been under way for a new U.S.-Japanese security pact that would, according to the Socialist statement, involve "the danger of dragging this country into the vortex of nuclear war."

* * *

Japanese pacifist Toyohiko Kagawa, convalescing from an illness that struck him suddenly a few months ago, was "beyond all medical aid" in June, according to Dr. Michio Kozaki, president of the Japanese National Christian Council. It was believed that only through the concerted prayers of Christians could he ever recover health. Characteristically, when presented with a hospital fund of nearly $1,000 that had been collected for him, Kagawa donated all but $15 of it to a medical fund for Protestant ministers who live in districts not yet covered by national health insurance.

* * *

The April issue of *Prevention*, a monthly health magazine, suggests that increased consumption of calcium in the diet is the best defense against deadly strontium-90 from nuclear tests. Tables accompanying an article titled "We're Dusting Our Crops With Fallout" shows amounts of strontium-90

(Continued on next page)

THREE OF A KIND. Dickerson triplets (l. to r.) John, Henri and Alfred, of Indianapolis, Indiana, all registered as conscientious objectors when their draft call came. All three joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation in July 1958, together with their parents, thus giving formal expression to long-held pacifist convictions.

found in vegetables, cereal and milk. The article concludes that, while it is safer to increase one's calcium intake than to decrease it, "the only answer to the whole problem is the complete cessation of nuclear bomb tests."

* * *

In Washington, D. C., last month the U. S. Court of Military Appeals upheld the six-month imprisonment and bad conduct discharge of Peter H. Green of Evanston, Ill., on charges of "disparaging the Marine Corps." Green had said, in public statements related to his earlier successful bid for recognition as a conscientious objector, that the conduct of the Marine Corps was "enough to shock the sensibilities of anyone who believes in fair play."

* * *

According to the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*, four leaders of Jehovah's Witnesses have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment by a People's Tribunal in the Soviet Ukraine for alleged "crimes against the state."

Charged with possessing "anti-Soviet" literature, the Witnesses were upbraided in these terms: "By refusing to bear arms or to participate in elections or political activities...they have refused even to keep up the appearance of being law-abiding citizens as do other religious sects." *Le Monde* predicted that it will not be long before Jehovah's Witnesses are banned from the Soviet Union. Members of the sect have often been imprisoned in the United States for refusal to bear arms.

FOR to Conduct Workshop At Boston University

A 12-week FOR Leadership Train ing Workshop is being held in Boston Mass., with the cooperation of the Bos ton University Human Relations Cen ter. The course begins on Septembe 29, with FOR member Richard Burk of the Human Relations Center sta as instructor. Meetings will be held o Tuesdays, 7-10 p.m. Tuition is $1 per person; enrollment is being limite to about 20 people. Upon payment o additional fees, college credit will b arranged.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Sept. 5-7. New England FOR Labo Day Weekend Regional Conference a Camp Becket-in-the-Berkshires Beck et Mass. Resource leaders: Dave De linger, Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Heste (USA, ret.), Stewart Meacham, Herma F. Reissig, Albert Seely. Conferenc theme: "Pacifism and Political Real ism." Write: FOR, 10 Kirkland Road Cambridge 38, Mass.

Sept. 5-20. CORE Interracial Actio Institute, Miami, Florida. Write: Con gress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row New York 38, N. Y.

Oct. 10. Middle Atlantic FOR Regiona Conference at Brethren Center, Nev Windsor, Maryland. Featured speaker Magda Trocmé. Write: Charles C. Walk er, FOR, Cheyney, Penna.

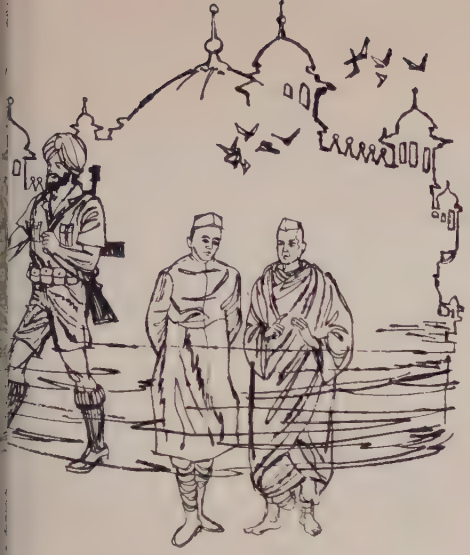
City Planners Debunk Civil Defense Against Nuclear Weapons

"We assert that there is no longer any possibility of adequate civil defense against a major nuclear war, and we assert that the fallout shelter programs are utterly incapable of providing even a modicum of protection against a determined enemy. We believe that such policies tend to lull the country into a false sense of security about the effects of nuclear war by continuing to hold out hope for survival where there is none.

"...The present civil defense and fallout shelter programs are incapable of protecting American cities and their citizens in the event of a nuclear war.

"...The only way to protect our cities against nuclear attack is through negotiations for the cessation of testing and use of nuclear weapons."

--from a statement by thirteen members of the American Institute of Planners, including Henry S. Churchill, Albert Mayer and Lewis Mumford.



Nationalism AND Nonviolence IN INDIA

BY JAMES E. BRISTOL

F NECESSITY this article will be autobiographical in nature, and will express ne of my thoughts and reactions after ghteen months in India, during which ne I have been privileged to visit on merous occasions with people who were se to Gandhi and who continue to ap- his spirit and example to the Indian ne. What has disturbed me (and I know ner Western pacifists who have been simrly disturbed) has been the fact that too v of these people voice the same vigorous ticism of the arms buildup of their own intry which they enunciate so eloquent- as regards the armaments of the big wers. Certainly this is not always true, t after having engaged in many conver- ions and numerous discussions with ndhians, I feel that by far the most com- n attitude, not only of the Indian people nerally, but also of the people who are rking in the Gandhian tradition is (1) t to voice forthright opposition to the ned preparedness of India in the face of armed Pakistan, and (2) to explain the uation in which India finds itself in h a way as to justify the armament of dia. I should state here parenthetically at I fully realize how difficult the con- uing American military aid to Pakistan kes the situation. I not only deplore e U.S. aid to Pakistan but, as an Ameri- n citizen, both in the United States and road I have denounced this policy pub- ly, as well as all American military aid ound the globe, and have joined in efforts through the years with both groups and individuals who seek to change that policy. However, although I deeply sympathize with the difficulties this military aid poses for India, two wrongs never make a right, and this U.S. aid to Pakistan does not basically alter the fact of the military response which it evokes from India.

American and British pacifists who visit India generally feel quite shocked at the above-mentioned twofold attitude on the part of Indian believers in nonviolence. In the West, pacifists strongly and outspokenly oppose and work against the armament of their own country (and this was true long before the invention of nuclear weapons; since World War I, Western pacifists have taken exactly the same position against the conventional armaments of their own countries, and are still opposed to conventional weapons today). Nor do Western pacifists defend and explain the position of their own country as "necessitating" an armaments program. Instead they are highly critical of the policies of their government as contributing to the tensions and insecurities which "require" armed defense.

I recognize one perhaps subtle, but powerful, factor at work in India which at least partially serves to explain this difference between Western and Indian believers in nonviolence. In the West, although we love our native land and feel our pacifism to be the expression of the highest form of patriotism, we have nonetheless never been associated in any great com-

mon cause with the present leaders of our government. Instead we have consistently through the years opposed the military policies which they in good conscience feel they must pursue, and have always been on the other side of the fence. In India, on the other hand, believers in nonviolence have been associated in very recent times with the present leaders of the government as comrades, fellow-sufferers and fellow-prisoners in a nonviolent independence movement, and they have together been fellow-followers of Gandhi. Therefore it becomes tremendously more difficult to oppose and criticize government policies here than in the West where such close bonds of friendship and camaraderie do not exist.

It may indeed be that Western pacifists are at times so able to see the faults and shortcomings of their own government's position that they fail to understand sufficiently the justification for that position, even becoming at times more aware of the justification for the position of a hostile government than of their own. Although the superficial criticism that accuses American pacifists of being "pro-Russian" or "pro-Communist" is inaccurate, there may be at times a measure of truth in the accusation that the American pacifist understands the position of the Russian government and people almost better than he does that of his own. Thus American pacifists are able to point out quite tellingly how genuinely the Russians feel threatened by the encirclement of their homeland by American air bases. Many Indian believers in nonviolence, however, seem so closely identified with the position of their own government and their own people that they go so far as to justify and defend the arms buildup in India, including the purchase of Canberra bombers and the building of fighter planes in Bangalore. Nor are they able to see the situation through the eyes of the "average Pakistani" and sense the threat which India's Army and Air Force pose for him.

India's Achilles' Heel

Here, it seems to me, is the Achilles' heel in India's foreign policy. Her "defensive" armament in the face of a genuine threat from Pakistan undercuts in a decisive and extremely tragic way her efforts to ensure world peace and secure world disarmamen Even her attempts to bring an end to nu clear weapons tests are vitiated by her ow arms buildup. It appears tragically tru that India has essentially the same attitud in relation to a potential enemy that ob tains in the United States and the Sovie Union. All nations and peoples are alway sincerely peace-loving in their own eye They can see clearly the faults and shor comings of other nations and the fact tha in any other conflict situation than the on in which they are immediately involve both parties bear a share of the blame an guilt. In their own conflict, however, ma ters are always "different." In their ow conflict they are always arming "defe sively."

It may sound ridiculous to assert tha United States military and air bases encir cling the globe are "defensive," yet they ar honestly felt to be so by Americans gene ally. And once you realize the nature o the weapons with which a Third Wor War would be fought and the terrifyin speed with which the first move will b made in the extremely small world create by modern science, it is logical (if you a cept the need for military preparedness) regard these preparations as necessary terms of "defense." It is important in th context to note that Pakistan feels gen inely threatened by India, and insists th India's armed strength is considerab greater than her own. The *Hindust Times* for April 6, 1959 carried a new story with an April 5 dateline from Ka achi, the headline reading: "Pak Jet Fle Will Be One-Third of India's." The new dispatch went on to state that the Ame ican supply of 25 light jet bombers to Pa istan would give Pakistan a jet fleet on third the size of that possessed by Ind India had about eighty bombers of a simil type from Britain, the report said. I ha no idea as to the authenticity of this sta ment, but it is important to realize ho the situation looks from the other side the fence.

It should also be borne in mind th both the Soviet Union and the Unit States have largely discarded convention weapons and are prepared now to "defe themselves" almost entirely with nucl

apons. To urge the nuclear disarmament these nations (which I most emphatically do) is therefore in effect to reduce em to the same "helpless" position ilitarily to which India would be reduced she abandoned her conventional weapons. his realization may serve to underline e way in which India's insistence upon creasing her military strength undercuts completely her efforts to assist in the hievement of nuclear disarmament among e big powers.

The Dilemma of Courage

Very often in such a discussion in India have been reminded that Gandhi himself ated that it was a higher moral position resist evil with violence than to be a ward and surrender to evil forces. No e could disagree with the truth of this andhian insight, but it does pose a terifying dilemma, especially in the age of t bombers, guided missiles and nuclear eapons. Often, I believe, we think of ese words of Gandhi in terms of hand-hand fighting in the streets, or even in rms of guerrilla warfare. We think of the derground which operates for freedom totalitarian countries and in the colonial eas of the world. and even if we are eply dedicated to nonviolence and are nscientious objectors to war ourselves, we lmire the courage of the violent resisters nd clearly regard them as infinitely more oral than the cowards. Once, however, ou accept this principle and apply it all e way, you have really given moral sanction to the staggering brutality and destruction of the Second World War and to the ossible obliteration of mankind in a uclear war. India must resist the evil in akistan with Canberra bombers and milar preparations (and it is always implicit in military preparedness that the eapons being amassed *will be used* if ecessary), and both the United States and e Soviet Union must resist the evil which ey see in the other with nuclear warfare reparations—and with the use of these eapons if necessary. Thus the dilemma ecomes more and more difficult with every oment of increasingly military preparation, whether in America or Europe or sia.

Certainly the alternative to today's mass organized "defensive" violence is *not* to surrender to tyranny and injustice and oppression, but to hasten the day when effective nonviolent resistance to evil can be offered. This lays heavily upon all believers in nonviolence the urgent necessity of creating a *Shanti Sena* (Peace Army), as Vinoba Bhave and others are steadfastly striving to do, which will be large enough and disciplined enough to offer effective resistance, even to an invading army. It also underlines the urgency of creating a *Sarvodaya* society—one based on justice, mutual service, and freedom and equality for all—which will produce peace and harmony as inevitably as our present social order produces distrust and tension and the crises that lead to war.

The question, which is perhaps as old as the human race, of course persists: What do we do in the meantime? One thing it seems to me we should *not* do is to support or justify the military preparations of our own nation—be it America or England or Russia or India. We should *not* wait for the achievement of *Shanti Sena* or the realization of the *Sarvodaya* society before opposing vigorously the military preparedness of our own nation, for, while we are waiting, the military mind and the reliance upon military measures for security are laying hold upon an increasing number of our fellow citizens. It is already far more difficult for the world to disarm now than it was ten years ago. It will be even harder five or ten years from now than it is today.

Therefore, we must keep alive our protests and make our opposition to the military preparedness of our own country vocal and vigorous, working at the same time for the achievement of *Shanti Sena* and the *Sarvodaya* society, which will be easier to achieve to the extent that our country is less committed to a policy of military defense. If an enemy invades or a hostile nation strikes before we have achieved our goals, then we still remain small pockets of people committed completely to nonviolent opposition to all forms of evil and tyranny. We resist the evil within our own nation. We resist the evil in the invading army. We resist the evil of a hostile and oppressive regime fastened upon us. More-

over, this we do realizing that our resistance may not prove effective in the immediate scene and that we and our families may suffer imprisonment, torture or even death. This we do undergirded by the faith that no action of this sort is ever entirely lost in the long stream of history, and that the world moves on a bit faster toward a just and free and decent society because of those who try to hold as close to the ideal as possible.

Postscript: Vinoba on Courage and Violence

After completing the rough draft of this article I was privileged to talk with Vinoba Bhave. Since I was asked to write out my questions for Vinobaji, I have an exact record of one question I put to him:

> Ghandhiji said that it is better to resist evil with violence than to be a coward. This can become the justification for nuclear war. How can we deal with this dilemma when our countrymen are not prepared to use nonviolent resistance to evil?

Vinobaji replied that we have to weigh this one statement of Gandhi's over against the total impact of his entire life. Gandhi made this statement only once and he never repeated it. Vinoba then went on to note that Islam began as a religion of peace (Islam means "peace"), but at one particular period the adherents of the faith were fleeing under persecution and Mohammed then counseled them that it was better to fight than to be cowards. This one injunction was later followed so thoroughly that when the first Islamic state was established it had an army. There has been a subsequent distortion of emphasis in Islam ever since.

So it was, Vinobaji felt, with this one statement of Gandhi's. Over-emphasis upon it has led to a distortion of Gandhi's thinking. Vinoba went on to say that war today has become insane; it was mass murder; there could be no justification for it. I interjected to mention the many times that people in India, including Gandhians, have cited these words of Gandhi to me. I stated that they have been quoted to me more often in India than in any other part of the world. "Yes," Vinoba replied, "they have become a Gospel proof text."

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

George F. Kennan is a faculty member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. As a career diplomat, he has held important posts in the U.S. Department of State and was the author of the White Paper that laid the foundation of the Acheson-Dulles policy of "containment." Mr. Kennan has recently become a trenchant critic of the policies he helped set in motion, and is the author of a book, *Russia, the Atom and the West,* in which he voices his criticism. "Foreign Policy and Christian Conscience" is reprinted here as it appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*. A more complete text of the same lecture will be found in the July issue of *Theology Today*.

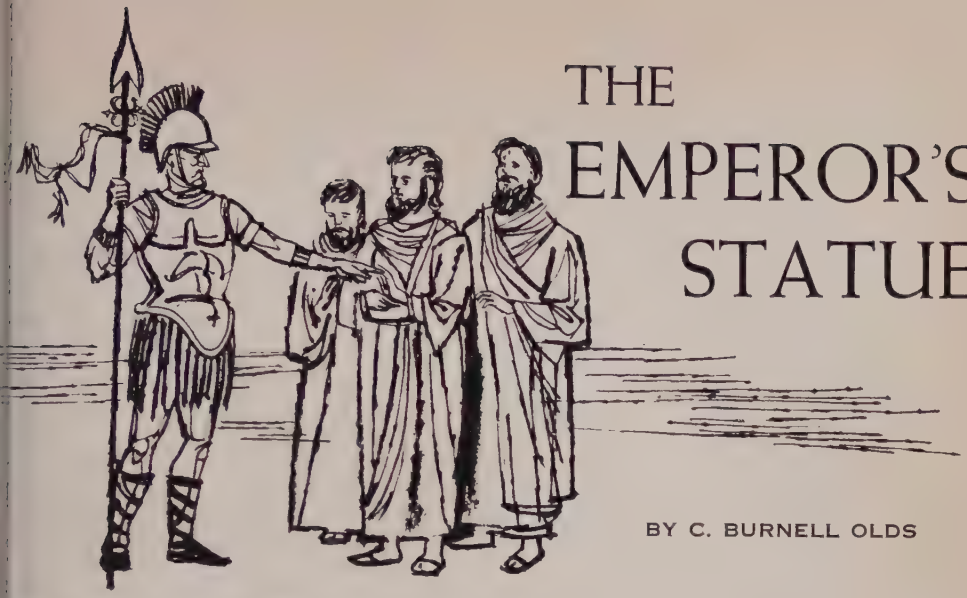
Allan R. Brick is an English instructor at Dartmouth College and a recently elected member of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Alfred McClung Lee is a noted sociologist and FOR member who has recently completed a year of service with the United Nations.

Ritchie Calder is a member of the Council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He served as World Health Organization consultant at the UN's Second International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Geneva last year.

James E. Bristol is an FOR member who headed the Peace Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee until he went to India in 1957 to serve as director of the Quaker International Center in Delhi. Since then he has been in close contact with the Gandhian movement in that country.

C. Burnell Olds is a retired missionary who served for 36 years in Japan. He has been a member of the FOR since 1925.



THE EMPEROR'S STATUE

BY C. BURNELL OLDS

THE TIME IS that of Gaius, or Caligula, who was emperor of Rome from A.D. to 41. The occasion was the disturbed ndition that resulted from the com- nds of the emperor that his statue be set and worshipped. This particular inci- nt originated in Alexandria, whence a legation of Greeks had come to accuse e Jews of having refused to obey the de- nds.

Gaius, on hearing of the accusation, was olently enraged, and at once made tronius governor of Syria and ordered m to invade Judea with a large body of ops, and, if the people were disposed permit it, to erect the statue there. If t, he was to make war on them.

Petronius then, with two Roman legions d as many auxiliaries as he could muster, t out for Ptolemais, prepared to attack e recalcitrant inhabitants as soon as ring opened. According to Flavius sephus in *The Antiquities of the Jews* Book 18, Chapter 8), "many ten thousands the Jews came to Petronius to offer their titions to him that he would not compel em to transgress and violate the law of eir forefathers. 'But if,' said they, 'thou t entirely resolved to bring this statue d erect it, do thou first kill us and then what thou art resolved on, for, while are alive, we cannot permit such things are forbbiden us by the authority of our gislator.' "

This reply greatly angered Petronius and he said to them that though as an individual he might listen to their words, as the representative of the emperor he had no recourse but to carry out his orders. "If I did not," he said, "it would bring upon me inevitable destruction."

To this the Jews responded, "If you are not willing to disobey the commands of your emperor, no more are we willing to disobey the commands of our God. If we did we would not only prove ourselves cowards, but we would incur the wrath of God."

At last then, seeing that he was gaining nothing, Petronius said to them,' "Will you make war with Caesar then, without considering his great preparations for war and your own weakness?"

"By no means," they replied; "but still we will die before we see our law transgressed." And so saying, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats and said they were ready to be slain; and this they did for forty days together, and thus interrupted their work of cultivating and sowing their fields.

Petronius' friends then interposed, urging him not to drive the Jews further to desperation, but to write to Gaius of the circumstances and suggest to him that if he persisted in his policy, it would be at the expense of his revenue. That, they thought, might move him to pity.

These suggestions evidently influenced Petronius. Also, as he thought of it, he

was horrified to find himself so much a slave to the emperor's madness as to destroy all these multitudes of people simply because of their religious convictions.

Once more, however, he called all the people together, with the army set opposite to them, and told them plainly what would happen, and that immediately, if they did not yield, and it was his duty to see that the emperor's orders were carried out.

"Yet," he said, "I do not think it right that I should have such regard for my own safety and honor as to be unwilling to sacrifice them for your preservation and that of your law. I will therefore send to Gaius, report to him your decision, and beg his clemency. Then if the violence of his rage is turned against me I will submit to it and suffer the consequences, rather than see so many tens of thousands of you perish. So return to your work now and leave the matter to me and my friends."

No sooner had he ended his speech than there was a tremendous downpour of rain. Since the day had been clear and drought had continued throughout the year, this inspired the people with hope, while it also convinced Petronius that the Jews were a special object of God's concern. Consequently, in writing to Gaius, he mentioned all these things, hoping to be able to dissuade him from his course.

Fortunately, King Agrippa at this time was in special favor with the emperor. Accordingly, seeing his opportunity, he made a great feast for his lord which pleased him greatly. So much so indeed that Gaius reminded his host of the many favors for which he was beholden to him, and for which he had not yet made adequate return. Therefore he declared that he now stood ready and would be glad to do for him anything that he might ask, thinking perhaps that he would request some political favor.

To this declaration, however, Agrippa replied that he had received so much in the past that he desired nothing more for himself. "Still," he continued, "if you press me there is one thing that I would like very much, that thou wilt think no longer of that statue which thou hast ordered Petronius to set up in the Jewish temple."

Well did Agrippa know that in makin such a request he would endanger his ow life, if perchance the emperor did not tak kindly to it. Fortunately for Agrippa, how ever, Gaius did not dare to go back on hi word spoken in the presence of so man witnesses. So he at once told him that hi request was granted. Also he wrote t Petronius, commending him for assemblin his army, and saying to him that, as for th statue, if he had already erected it, h might let it stand, but if not, he need no trouble himself further about it. So no he could dismiss his army and give his a tention to other affairs. "For now," said h "I am no longer concerned regarding th statue, and I have told Agrippa that as favor to him, I have dropped the who matter."

This letter was written before th emperor had received the letter of Petr nius telling of the Jews' feelings regardin the statue. When he did receive that lette Gaius at once wrote back to Petroniu saying, "Seeing thou esteemest the pre ents made thee by the Jews to be of greate value than my commands, and are grow insolent enough to be subservient to the pleasure, I charge thee to become thy ow judge, and consider what thou art to d now thou art under my displeasure; for will make thee an example to the presen and to all future ages, that they may no dare to contradict the commands of the emperor."

But Petronius did not receive that lette until after Gaius' death. For the ship tha carried it was so slow that the letters an nouncing the emperor's death reached hi before that one. Thus God, remark Josephus, did not forget Petronius and th dangers he had undergone on account o the Jews, but repaid Gaius for his insolen attempt to compel men to pay him divin honors.

So Rome and all the Roman dominion as well as Petronius and the Jewis populace, were relieved by the occurrenc of the death of the emperor so soon aft he had written Petronius, ordering hi to kill himself with his own hands. Whe Petronius therefore received the earli letter, he was amazed by the coincidenc and "admired God's providence" by whic he himself had been saved from death.

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HOWARD THURMAN

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European Youth for Peace

In the summer of 1951, forty young people met at Elsinore in Denmark for a conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation on "Christian Youth and the Problems of Peace." This was the first postwar conference of its kind, and the need for a permanent group to concern itself with the issues raised by the conference was strongly felt. So our European Youth Committee was set up, its aims being to organize Christian pacifist work and witness among young people on an international scale, to build up youth groups and promote discussions in different countries, to plan international conferences (for witness to people new to our beliefs and to provide further training for young leaders), to support work camps and other ventures, and to campaign for the rights of conscientious objectors. And, above all, to help create a truly international fellowship, uniting Europe by making friendships which shall stretch across national frontiers.

In 1955, when new conscription measures were being introduced in Germany, we sent a "caravan" team of five young men to witness to the conscientious objector standpoint in several German towns and villages. Then in the summer of 1958 we organized and carried through our most ambitious Caravan, visiting camps, conferences and groups in several countries in an endeavor both to strengthen them and to share our ideas with many new friends. Three members of our team, together with several other young members, went to a combined conference and work camp organized by FOR and International Voluntary Service at Erfweiler in southern Germany. This experience was a very rich one for all of us: there were many problems to face at Erfweiler, but we eventually succeeded in overcoming them all and in making our experiment in cooperation a success—we completed our thinking on many world issues as well as discussing the aims of our two organizations, and made some remarkable contacts with people of the local com munity. Indeed, the whole Caravan bor fruit in spite of difficulties.

Some years ago we began to issue ou own Youth Bulletin, giving news of activ ties and articles on our work and faith drawn from many countries and appearin with sections in three languages. We hav renamed the Bulletin *Via Pacis*, and i should be of interest to all young peopl who are working for peace. Our presen Editor is Evend Gaarn-Larsen, of Kirkeve 7, Viby Jylland, Denmark.

Of course, none of us can devote ou energies entirely to international work; w spend most of the year in our own coun tries, busy with jobs or studies. But ther are so many ways in which we can wor locally for peace; and we are constantl encouraging our young people to shar ideas on how to continue and extend ou witness. In England, young FOR member founded a club for colored workers in a industrial town; others are giving a grea deal of moral and material support to refu gees left behind by the tides of war in Eu rope. "War on Want" lunches, at whic people eat bread and perhaps cheese in stead of their normal meal, and donate th money saved to famine relief projects, ar also widely supported. And of course man of us go to work camps. These are all prac tical ways of demonstrating our concern t create a society ruled by the Spirit o Christ, a society in which the solving o the great problems of population pressure hunger and racial prejudice, is regarde as more urgent than the building up o armaments.

But we do not forget the need for direct and positive witness against prepara tion for war, the need to expose the in iquity and sheer folly of present-day "de fense" policies. We must speak as well a work, constantly stressing the direction o our effort. So we speak to our fellow-Chris tians in the churches on every possible occa

n, discussing with them the ways in which are called to bring peace on earth; many us also support national campaigns for clear disarmament; and we encourage r members to be active in political parties d trade unions, proclaiming there the ith we hold. And in learning languages, ndying worldwide problems, and maining correspondence with each other we to equip ourselves to be better Christian citizens both nationally and internationally.

There are not many young people involved in FOR work in Europe yet; our Committee represents a hundred members and two hundred contacts. But twelve disciples started the greatest revolution ever known; and we in our turn are called to "attempt great things for God."

—Robert Jefford

Conscientious Objection in Germany

In May 1956, the German Bundestus decided that the political situation bligated Germany to muster a defense rce of 500,000 men to meet NATO reirements. The ruling political party (the hristian Democratic Party, predominantly atholic) maintains that German reunitation can be accomplished only through dequate German rearmament adding eight to the military influence of the estern powers. In order to guard the ace effectively, West Germany must have standing army comparable in strength the Volkspolizei of the East Zone. spite atomic weapons, these manpower rces are thought necessary.

The Bundesrepublik witnessed an ineasing wave of opposition to the comlsory military draft law. Though this position reflects deep-rooted religious nvictions, these have never been cometely distinct from the people's concern er the tragedy of their divided country nd the increasing pressure of Russian ocpation in the East Zone. The minority rties (particularly the Social Democratic rty) insist that postwar democratic Gerany shall not reflect a resurge of power olitics in her foreign relations. This party s taken the lead in defending the conientious objector position with an appeal the postwar democratic constitution of e German Republic. The constitution, milar to that of Western countries, conins the following wording: "It is the uty of state authority to respect and pro-ct the basic dignities of man. The Gerian people commit themselves to invioble and inalienable human rights as the asis of human brotherhood, peace, and ghteousness in the world," and in the fourth article: "No one may be compelled against his conscience to render military service implying the use of weapons."

This party argues that any war against the East implies a "brother war," that is, a civil war, which neither can be just nor can contribute to the reunification of the divided country. In view of these factors, the German draft law provided full exemption for conscientious objectors upon condition that such persons on the basis of conscience refuse participation not only in a "brotherhood war" but also in the use of weapons between any national states and for this reason oppose all military service implying the use of arms.

760 Objectors

Since the beginning of recruitment in February 1957, a steady flow of applications of conscientious objectors has been directed to the government. As of October 8, 1958, the Bonn Verteidigungsministerium has recognized 520 COs, rejected 256, and tabled 358 further applications. This means that, at the time of writing, the number of conscientious objectors in Germany stands roughly at 760. Approximately 50% of these are Evangelical, 7% Roman Catholic, and 6% Jehovah's Witnesses. Four Mennonite and two Baptist COs have been recognized to date. Popular magazines and newspapers have erroneously published various low figures for CO applicants as propaganda intended to influence public opinion against both the pacifist cause and the platform of the Social Democratic Party.

However, of the 100,000 men recruited in 1957, 3,500 applications for conscientious objection had been received and

registered during the first month of conscription by the central pacifist organization known as "Zentralstelle für Recht und Schütz der Kriegsdienstverweigeret." It is not known how many of the 21,000 deferrals would likewise fall into this category since it is known that persons intending to apply for conscientious objection are advised to apply rather for physical exemption or deferral on some other basis.

The Deutsches Mennonitsches Friedenskomitee (DMF) is one of various peace groups represented on the Zentralstelle which negotiates objector affairs with the German government as does the National Service Board for Religious Objectors in the United States. Professor F. Siegmund-Schultze, who has done more than anyone else for German recognition of objectors, is president of the Zentralstelle. Men registering as objectors are examined by twelve regional committees, and, if their claims are recognized, they are to be assigned to civilian service.

Alternative Service Proposals

After debating various drafts of an alternative service law for nearly two years, it is hoped that the proposed bill will be passed and come into effect by spring 1959. In its present form the draft proposes that the objector be granted rights and privileges equal to those of men in the fighting forces, that the government offer an acceptable form of alternative service, establishing camps to provide projects in land reclamation, disaster service, and health, welfare and charitable services. The length of the term of service to be rendered shall equal that of enlisted men with an option of either twenty-one months in one unit or at various intervals. Financing CO placements through private organizations is to be subsidized through a grant from the government. A remuneration of approximately DM 2.50 per day will correspond to that of the lowest rank in the army.

Personal preferences are to be respected in placement, and some thought has been given to the advisability of training certain of the conscientious objectors as peace workers at the Bückeburg Freundschaftsheim. A special training course is to be provided for leaders. Objectors will not b required for Luftschutz (Civil Defense Private agencies are to be licensed for gi ing alternative service employment insofa as they meet government requirements, an open to government inspection, rend worthwhile peace and constructive effor for the public benefit, and assume fu responsibility for conscientious objecto employed.

"Eirene"

Through the joint concern of the Hi toric Peace Churches (Brethren, Friend Mennonites) and the International Fellow ship of Reconciliation, a voluntary servi project known as *Eirene* ("Peace" i Greek) has been established in Morocc an area of economic need and politic tension. Eirene provides service opportun ties for both Christian conscientious ob jectors and volunteers not subject to th draft.

Although this is not a solution for a nominally religious objectors in German a distinct witness opportunity is provide for a selective group as in the Europea Mennonite Pax Services with possibiliti for further expansion. At present th Eirene program is supported by th Mennonite Central Committee and th Brethren Service Commission, but it hoped that before long other Christia organizations, particularly European, wi participate actively. Eirene is to provide a opportunity for young men of vario countries to render voluntary service Christian pacifists in areas of need an political tension as a witness to the reco ciling power of Christian love. It is hop that European governments will ackno ledge this precedent as a service worthy recognition in lieu of military servic Serious consideration is being given to th possibility of establishing a project simil to the one in Morocco within the Germa Bundesrepublik.

Until the alternative service law becom effective, it is too early to know the exte to which German Mennonites will tak their position as conscientious objecto under the provisions of the new law.

—Clarence Bauman

(reprinted from *The Mennonit*

Handbook of Pacifist History

RISTIAN PACIFISM by Edgar W. Orr. C. Daniel Co., Ashingdon, Rockford, Es-, England. 161 pp., 12s. 6d. ($1.75).

Sometimes I am asked to recommend a gle book to a reader who wishes a short roduction to the subject of Christian cifism. My first choice would be either *e Dagger and the Cross* by Culbert tenber, published by the American FOR, *Christian Pacifism After Two World ars* by Leyton Richards, published by British FOR. The first argues the case Christian pacifism from the neo-ortho- x theological standpoint; the second m the liberal theological standpoint; h is first-class argument.

The book by Edgar Orr does not come grips so well with the questions put to ntemporary pacifism, but it would be book to recommend if the reader wants convenient handbook of pacifist history th an excellent bibliography and refer- ces all the way through to the multiply- g literature of pacifism.

Mr. Orr gives us a bird's-eye view of the storical movement of Christian pacifism the Old Testament, Wisdom Literature, w Testament, early Church, its eclipse the Church after the accession of Con- ntine in the fourth century and on down rough the Reformation; its subsequent vival by the Mennonites, Quakers, Church the Brethren and minorities in Protes- nt and Roman Catholic circles; the non- olent resistance of Gandhi in South rica and India; of Bishop Berggrav in rway; the peaceful acceptance by the ople of the Channel Islands of the Ger- an occupation in 1940-1945; and the land t mission today of Vinoba Bhave.

This small book is unique in the range pacifist events touched on in brief com- ss. It is a convenient handbook of quick ference for speakers who want pacifist ecdotes and an outline of the pacifist ory.

There is one glaring omission. Nothing said of the pacifist role of conscientious jectors in the two world wars, of the acemaking suffering they endured as nscientious affirmers of truths that are sic to Christianity, democracy and peace.

BOOKS

Nor is it mentioned that besides their faithful witness they won the important concession in Great Britain and the United States of alternative civilian service in which many of them performed creative service in mental hospitals and elsewhere, starting a stream of beneficent influence that continues to this day.

Mr. Orr has an excellent chapter on *War and Force* which demolishes the myth that the method of war with its military and commando training, obliteration bombing and propaganda of falsehood, etc., can possibly be equated with police operations as we know them in a democratic community. This misconception is so widespread and persistent that I would like to see this chapter printed as an inexpensive pamphlet and given mass circulation.

The least satisfactory chapter is on *Practical Politics*. It makes some good points in reminding us of the success of the peace treaties for disarmed boundaries between the U. S. and Canada and between Argentina and Chile; and that federations have had a more successful history than leagues of nation-states. But the possibilities of development in the UN are not hopefully assessed and the chapter is completely silent about the economic drive toward war and the roadblocks to peace which it interposes in armaments, the cold war, and the inflammable differential between wealth and poverty in the "Have" and "Have-Not" nations.

The chapter on the *Gandhian Technique* usefully distinguishes between it and underground resistance movements in Denmark, Norway and Belgium, which often resorted to violence, assassination and sabotage. But in Norway, under the leadership of Bishop Berggrav and others, there was also a truly pacifist resistance.

The last chapter on *The Hand of Friendship* is slanted right and gives eight useful cases for pacifist argument ending up with the too-little-known (outside of Brazil) overcoming of hostility of the Chavante Indians by General Rondon, the Chief of the Brazilian government's Indian Protective Service, who established the rule

for his men, "Die if necessary but never kill."

Unfortunately, apart from Gandhi, no case is cited of pacifist action directed against a well-armed, economically powerful modern state. Perhaps there are not too many examples to draw from, but here at least is where the attack of the British and American conscientious objectors against military conscription by their governments in two world wars should have come in. —JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Beyond the Welfare State

CULTURE AND SOCIETY 1780-1950 by Raymond Williams. Columbia University Press 1958. 363 pp., $5.

In the past three or four years in England a "new left" has begun to emerge, calling for radical re-examination of the very basis of the post-World War II welfare state. For the implementation of such long-espoused socialist proposals as the nationalization of basic industries had, under the Attlee regime, resulted in no more radical betterment of the living conditions of the workers than the New Deal achieved in the United States. While Communists might argue that what was needed was to triple the amount of nationalization and to pauperize the former owners of wealth, the "new left" critics chose to dig at the roots.

Raymond Williams' *Culture and Society 1780-1950* is the first major attempt at this arduous task. Williams accepts contemporary industrial technology as a given means for which appropriate ends must be discovered. Most of his book is given over to an incisive examination of the whole tradition of critical response to the industrial revolution, from Edmund Burke to T. S. Eliot, George Orwell and the Marxists, judiciously appraising each writer in the context of the developing history of industrialism and its culture and seeking out their salient points of distinctiveness and also what each has in common with the tradition. Not only political commentary but literary essays, aesthetic theory and selected novels are viewed as they form this broad tradition of concern which includes all shades of political opinion.

If the book ended with this, it wou be well worth the price. But Willia then goes on for some 40 pages to off his "conclusions," which are as valua as the historical survey, if not more so, a are firmly grounded in the latter.

It is very refreshing to encounter a bo dealing so fundamentally with society th avoids the pitfalls alike of cliché, polem and platitude, and that is also relevant the main currents of an existing socie Williams does not water down the goal radical social transformation for the sa of what is merely "possible," nor does advocate a model of community divorc from existing currents. Although the soc framework of his discussion is thorough English (one wishes for a comparab analysis of American culture and societ there is enough of a deeply human aspe to make the frame less important than t picture of man's plight and possibiliti that is so strikingly presented. "The huma crisis," as Williams observes, "is always crisis of understanding: what we genuine understand we can do."

This is not a book for the casual reade It is no exaggeration to say that it stan in the front rank among books in its fie and that it is in some ways a real answ to our occasional cries for a vitally ne approach to problems that have resiste analysis in customary terms. It is not a bo on "how to" make socialism, but a stu of the root values in human experien from which a new society may be derive in short, a chart for the journey beyo the welfare state.

If any excerpt could successfully indica the meaning of the book and its otherwi ambiguous title, I think it would be thi "The language we use to inquire into an negotiate our actions is no secondary fa tor, but a practical and radical element itself. To take a meaning from experienc and to try to make it active, is in fact o process of growth." Such a remark reca a New Testament phrase: "doing th truth." Williams has performed an i portant part of the contemporary task discerning the truth to be done. The p ception of his insights and the solidity his scholarship make this book worth patient and careful reading. The meanin

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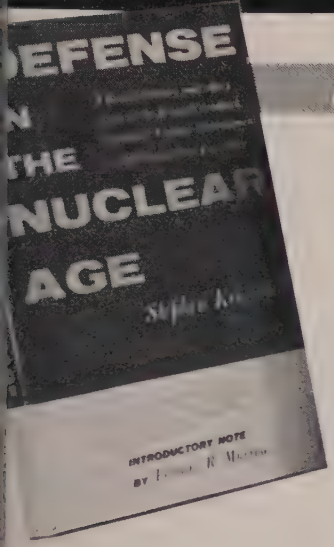

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY *Edward R. Murrow*

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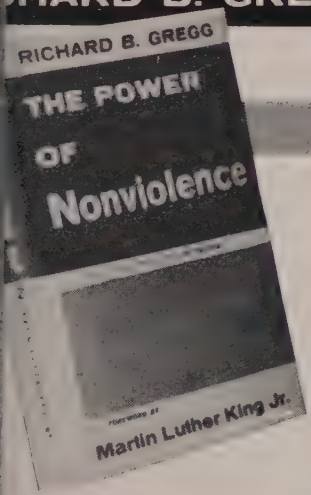

FOREWORD BY Martin Luther King Jr

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that he has discerned in the experience of 170 years may well contribute valuably to our own understanding and growth beyond the welfare state. —W. R. M.

The Whole Gandhi

MAHATMA GANDHI by B. R. Nanda. Beacon 1958, 542 pp. $6.50.

Till recently, the most complete biography of Gandhi was that by Louis Fischer. Covering the last few years of his life only, Pyarelal's *Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase* (published in India) is far more detailed but does not touch the earlier years. Nanda's new biography is in some respects more complete than Louis Fischer's. The Hindu author is able to state more fully and sympathetically the religious basis and motivation of Gandhi's actions and teaching. More vividly than any Westerner, this Indian author is able to state the Indian feeling about British imperialism. He assesses wisely the way and extent to which Gandhi's experience in South Africa prepared him for the long struggle for India's freedom. He shows how, on several occasions in India, Gandhi endured what were clear tactical defeats which yet in the long run turned out to be strategic victories. Truth and moral forces in which Gandhi trusted completely all his life, together with his insistence on love and nonviolence of means, wrought this change silently, subtly and surely. It was the clearest case I know in modern life of the truth of the saying that faith can move mountains.

The Western-educated Indians and most of the leaders of the Congress party could not understand this utter reliance on truth and the spiritual unity of all mankind, whether friend or foe, this aim at persuasion rather than victory, this insisten that means must be consistent with th valued end. Often Gandhi's reliance o these principles made them feel that h had been a catspaw of British imperialis or had even been a traitor to the India cause. For the same reason, socialists an communists accused him of selling out t the capitalists.

Time and again the Congress leade refused to follow Gandhi's lead. Whe that happened, he let them go their wa while he retired to the promotion of h "constructive program" (handspinning an weaving and other village crafts, helpin the "untouchables," promoting sanitatio and village "basic" education), thus gene ating among the masses a mighty faith an devotion that no other Indian before since has ever had. Remember, 83% of th people of India live in villages. The Co gress leaders would find that they ha made a mistake and come back and b him again to lead them. But they nev attained his complete faith in nonviolen or in the economic and moral results o handspinning and handweaving. He wa right on both, but it would take sever books to explain why.

It is my belief that Gandhi was th greatest and wisest man the world has see for 1900 years. I recommend, therefore, th reading of such books as this in which th tale is well told. —RICHARD B. GREG

A Great Reconciler

A SEED SHALL SERVE by Charlie May Simo Dutton 1958, 158 pp., $3.

This is a brief, readable account of th major episodes in the life of Toyohik Kagawa. Written in a popular style, a times quite colorful, with much sentimen and appreciation of its hero, it will furnis interesting reading for persons of all age The author has devoted considerable a tention to acquainting herself with th everyday life of people in Japan, and fil in a background of native customs an culture that makes the story come alive.

The bulk of the book deals with th earlier period of Kagawa's life and wor This has been more fully told in Willia

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kling's *Kagawa* and in the periodical erature of the '30s. But that material is w out of print, and greatly needs re-lling for another generation. The present count of those dramatic days has a certain shness that could have come only from rect contact with Dr. Kagawa and his mily. There are details hitherto unpub-hed, and also a kind of staccatto style in e telling that reflects the speaking pat-rn of the maestro himself. Few dates are ven, and there is no acknowledgment of urces of information, but the story is thentic, and it moves with ease through e tangled situations in which Kagawa ayed his part up to recent years.

One cannot ask too much from a short ography such as this, but if there had en a dimension of a little greater depth surveying and appraising the seething rrents of social, political, economic and ternational revolution pressing on agawa and on which he steered his crea-ve course, it would have given special stinction to the narrative. The detailed udy of this man and his times has yet be made. It will be a baffling but re-arding task, and if well accomplished ill make the world richer and more un-erstanding of the crises of our day.

But in the meantime, Kagawa does live these pages. His amazing vitality reathes in them, and his astounding rsatility is felt. Every new cause possesses im and kindles him into action. His ex-losive speech and sweeping gestures can arcely keep up with his imagination and sourceful analysis of every situation. Vith prodigious reading and the daily abit of long hours of concentration, he rings new light and leading into each rea of human need as it is brought to his ttention. And there is no area which does ot command his sacrifical response. Every underdog" has in him a champion, as he ishes out to meet social injustice in every eld. Personally identified with poverty, ving in the slums, he has pioneered in ckling labor problems, rural reconstruc-on, "brotherhood economics" in the co-peratives movement; social legislation, ty planning, refugee reclamation, health nd welfare promotion, and international eace. Always his weapons have been those the spirit. The heart of his philosophy of life is what he calls "redemptive love," or reconciliation by personal service. Few men of our generation have come as near living their code as has Kagawa. His days of greatest activity are past, his frail physique no longer answers to the relentless demands of his mind and heart, but his spirit remains unchanged. It will not do for the world to forget him. We are grateful for this retelling of his great days.

—Charles W. Iglehart

PEACE MOVES ON THE CAMPUS

(Continued from Page 11)

the problem posed by communist totalitarianism?," opinion registers among students and faculty, and evening discussion groups, resulting in full coverage by campus papers. The individual projects were climaxed in San Francisco on May 16 by a rally and poster march in which over one hundred students participated, individual students reporting what had occurred on their campuses, and Bob Pickus laying out the plans for continued campus action in the fall. In New England, following the examples set by Calkins and Pickus, we will hold a November conference to form a College Peace Union ("College" instead of "Student" so the principle of joint faculty and student membership can be followed).

During the next school year many students will respond to the various broadly based anti-war movements. In helping to engender and to magnify this response, and in thereby working to move much of it toward its own essentially religious pacifism, lies the opportunity of the FOR. In surveying its program, in designing its material aids, the FOR should look to the college student and to the best means for challenging his mind.

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LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

The Milk We Drink, Contd.

Dear Editors:

I note that in the July 1 issue of FELLOWSHIP you published a letter by Richard S. Reynolds Jr., of Nashville, Tenn.

It seems that many people have not yet heard of a group of medical doctors such as Mr. Reynolds suggests. Here in St. Louis there has been formed the Greater St. Louis Citizen's Committee for Nuclear Information with its main office at 4484 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Missouri.

The leadership of the above committee is heavy with medical doctors, dentists, physicists, biologists, and other professional men associated with Washington University and St. Louis University.

I suggest that persons interested in information in this area should write the above address sending $2 and a request for a subscription to "Nuclear Information" which is published ten times a year.

Regarding Mr. Reynolds' desire to avoid Strontium 90 in his diet, to the best of my knowledge there is no known way of doing it as of now while still getting the needed amounts of calcium. Work is being done in the area and there are some signs of hope, however.

PAUL A. SMITH
Dept. of Physics
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

The Hopis and the Bomb

Dear Editors:

Six Hopi Indians representing their peaceful tribe recently protested to the United Nations against plans of the United States government to locate a bombing range just south of the Arizona mesa where succeeding generations of the Hopi people have lived, evidently, fro remote antiquity.

This proposed additional bombing range one of many examples of the aggressiveness the dominant military faction in Americ Would any person with normal conscien willingly support a bombing program? Dro ping a bomb on any city, it seems to me, cowardly and criminal.

The Hopi and other Indian tribes have bee deceived by administrative treaty violato and robbed of their inheritance by invade and their descendants among whom I a numbered in this area of the "Free World"!

I trust that those who believe in the cardin virtue, justice, will speak out against stridi militarism in its further encroachment on t rights of the tragic subjugated American I dian.

LOUIS OBED RENNE
Menlo Park, Californ

Taxes and CARE

Dear Editors:

Many thanks to John and Betty Clegg f sharing their fine swords-into-plowshares pl (a gift to CARE for food is a sevenfold call the government's tax revenues). I hadn't know of this before, and shall adopt this method avoiding contributing to armaments myself. have never felt justified in direct refusal pay taxes to a government which is essential based on the will of the people (my fault th I haven't raised my voice longer and strong against the U. S. military budget) and whic protects me. But now I have a direct way expressing my will regarding the use of m tax payments, while still cooperating with basically benevolent democratic government.

MARGARET RU
Syracuse, N.

The Peacemaker's Task

Dear Editors:

The "Walk for Peace" pictures in t January 1, 1959 issue of FELLOWSHIP give ou ward evidence to the world that cooperati and prevention are still being practiced, least by a few thinking people.

It is to be hoped that some of the publ will apreciate what a difficult task these peop have undertaken to do, in a world which co siders competitive measures of far more valu than cooperation; and cure more effecti than prevention.

Ever since I have been able to think f myself I have believed in working and fightin (with peaceful weapons) for a world at peac However, I am now past 70 years of age, an walk with a crutch, so of course I cannot tak active part in the work which the FOR doing.

But this I know: there is no place I woul rather be, were I able, than among your grou which is striving to establish and maintain peaceful world.

JOSEPHINE PRASSER
Milwaukee 7, Wisconsi

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THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

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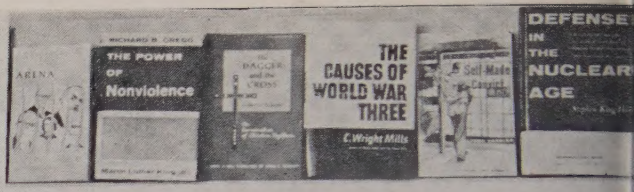

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Is Peace Possible?

THIS PROVOCATIVE QUESTION is the title of a Penguin Special by the noted British scientist, Kathleen Lonsdale. In it, she discusses problems of peace, freedom and justice in an era of expanding world population and technical development. IS PEACE POSSIBLE? is a 65c paperback—only one among 109 titles of books, paperbacks and pamphlets listed in the new 1959 catalog of Fellowship Publications.

Other books on the list present answers to this question from a number of angles. Some of them, like the new 1959 edition of *The Power of Nonviolence* by Richard B. Gregg ($2.50) and *Defense in the Nuclear Age* by Stephen King-Hall ($2.75), are published by Fellowship and are just off the press. Some, like *The Voyage of the Golden Rule* by Albert E. Bigelow ($3.50), are brand-new books from other publishers. Others are works that have been in demand for years. Prices vary from "free" to $7.50, and there are many bargains.

In compiling this list, we have tried to be highly selective. Even with our best efforts, however, we were unable to limit all our items to one folder. So we have issued a special supplement listing folders, leaflets and Fellowship Reprints. And of course we have separate folders listing 16-mm. films and tape recordings available from Fellowship Publications. Just send us a postcard, indicating which of these catalogs you want.

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